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Deputy Defense Minister Comments on Tank Cuts

AU2601115589 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 25 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by Army General Vitaliy Shabanov, USSR deputy defense minister, under the rubric "NOVOSTI—NARODNA ARMIYA Topical Bulletin": "The Soviet Tanks Will Be Disarmed"]

[Text] The world continues to comment on the Soviet leadership's decision to unilaterally reduce the Soviet Armed Forces by 500,000 men, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, 800 aircraft, and other combat equipment. However, doubt has been expressed at NATO Headquarters that the six tank divisions to be withdrawn from central Europe will be disbanded. Suggestions are being made in the West that these divisions may be transferred beyond the Urals and retained with their complete combat equipment.

One should bear in mind that cuts will be also be made in the tank divisions stationed within the Soviet Union. No one is preparing to transfer six divisions beyond the Urals. These divisions will be withdrawn from central Europe to the European part of the Soviet Union and will be disbanded there. All the tanks will be disarmed, in order for some of them to be used in the national economy, and some to be converted into tractor vehicles and engineering vehicles. Some of the combat vehicles will be melted down. The specialists are now determining the most rational ways to utilize the armored equipment from the reductions for the needs of the economy. The announced 2-year deadline for making the cuts in this equipment will be strictly met. The first stage of the reductions will start in April this year.

In addition, as M.S. Gorbachev stressed at the United Nations, after the withdrawal of the tanks from the Soviet divisions, the latter will acquire an exclusively defensive structure. We are making a start on creating the new defensive doctrine, by setting up new structures of combined units and units with the aim of giving them a purely defensive orientation. This is being achieved by reducing the numbers of tanks and strike weapons (field artillery and other heavy combat equipment). From the group of Soviet forces stationed in central Europe we will withdraw assault-landing and crossing-assault combined units and units, together with their arms and combat equipment. This is one aspect of the question. The other aspect concerns the fact that we cannot reduce their defensive capabilities. For this reason, as well as making the cuts, we are increasing antitank weapons and doing what is necessary to discover in a timely way the intentions of the other side. This will also contribute to the defensive orientation of our troops.

By combining these measures with those relating to the cuts, we will ensure that our combined units possess a reasonable sufficiency as regards defense.

'Conversion' Plays 'Key Role' in Disarmament

LD2601175589 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—By TASS military commentator Vladimir Chernyshev:

Mikhail Gorbachev has moved a proposal at the U.N. General Assembly session that all states, primarily the big powers, should submit to the United Nations their national programs for switching military production to peaceful rails. Thereby, the Soviet Union has drawn the world community's attention to one of the most urgent problems, namely that of going over from a military economy to an economy of disarmament.

In the military sphere the conversion concept is in accord with the reasonable defence sufficiency concept, with the programme to do away with means of mass annihilation, to reduce armed forces and conventional armaments, in the politicial—with the program of strengthening confidence among states, in the economic—with the solution of socio-economic tasks confronting the nations, with pooling efforts in the solution of global problems.

Advance elaboration of national conversion programs means that in case of new breakthroughs in disarmament and international detente it will be possible to reorientate the released material and manpower resources smoothly and most efficiently. A conversion plan should be most closely coordinated with the program to reorganize the armed forces and armaments on the basis of defence sufficiency, and also with the envisaged agreements on the reduction of troops and armaments. In so far as the possibility of achieving agreements depends on parties to the negotations, a conversion program will apparently have to be revised and modified regularly depending on changes in the international situation.

It should be borne in mind, however, that military-political detente and conversion are linked not only directly, but inversely, too. Measures to demilitarize the economy may be brought about by positive changes in the international situation. But this is not all to it. They themselves may be instrumental in promoting such changes. Publication of conversion programs, even before their implementation, will signal a nation's peaceful designs, and, consequently, serve as a fundamental factor contributing to greater confidence between the opposite sides. Effectiveness of efforts exerted against the arms race depends largely on the conclusiveness and weight of arguments advanced by experts in favour of conversion, regarding its positive impact on the economy, social sphere and international relations.

Conversion programs should be drawn up in advance, so that exaggerated difficulties of transition from military to civilian production would not be used by detente adversaries as a pretext for torpedoing disarmament

agreements. This is also necessary because it will dispel the fears of those employed by the military establishment about their fate in case the production of armaments is slashed drastically.

Hence, conversion programs are called upon to play a key role in building up an economic front of struggle for disarmament. They may be very helpful in achieving political solutions in the question of curbing the arms race, in their implementation.

U.S. Plans for Portuguese, UK Bases Reviewed

PM2601142789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

[V. Vinogradov article "Military-Political Review": "Dangerous Freight"]

[Text] These two reports came in one after the other. The completion has been announced in Lisbon of U.S.-Portuguese consultations on the new terms for the Pentagon's leasing of the Lajes military air base in the Azores. The London newspaper THE INDEPENDENT has announced that in the next 2 years the United States intends, with the consent of the British authorities, to double appropriations for its bases in Britain and to construct several more new military establishments there.

The Pentagon has made considerable efforts to achieve decisions in its favor. And that is no accident. As for the air base in the Azores, the United States has long regarded it as one of the most valuable because it makes it possible to swiftly transfer troops and military equipment across the Atlantic to Europe, the Mediterranean, and further afield—to the Near and Middle East. That is why Washington has not started to skimp, but has agreed to increase the annual rent for this base to nearly 40 billion escudos—especially as only one-fifth of this sum will be spent on economic development. The remainder is being supplied within the framework of military aid.

Portugal will thus receive 20 F-16 fighter-bombers, 5 helicopters for the three Portuguese frigates now being built in the FRG, and modern communications systems, radar systems, armored transport vehicles, and transport facilities. In addition, it is reported that Lisbon is ready to continue talks on the Pentagon's use of the air base in Beja, which the FRG Air Force is leasing. If in addition to this, you recall that back in the summer of 1987 Lisbon gave the United States the "go ahead" to erect a U.S. satellite tracking station in southern Portugal, an offer taken by the United States, then it is not hard to see that the Pentagon is confidently entrenching itself on Portuguese territory.

It is true that in Britain this "entrenchment" by the Pentagon is far broader in scale. According to THE INDEPENDENT in the 2 upcoming fiscal years—1989 and 1990—the Pentagon will receive $239.9 million to maintain its bases in Britain. That is more than $140 million more than the relevant appropriations for the previous 2 years. On what is it planning to spend such large sums? The main proportion of the money, the newspaper indicates, will be spent on bases in Alconbury, Upper Heyford, Bentwaters, Greenham Common, Lakenheath, and Fairford.

Attention is drawn by this list's inclusion of the Greenham Common base from which, under the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, all U.S. cruise missiles should be withdrawn by 1991. In the opinion of THE INDEPENDENT, the U.S. Air Force nonetheless "intends to use Greenham Common as a permanent base." At the bases in Upper Heyford, Lakenheath, and Bentwaters, it is planned to erect new underground stores for atomic bombs. And while F-111 aircraft—delivery vehicles for nuclear weapons—are already stationed at the first two of these bases, in Bentwaters the Pentagon intends to station the sophisticated F-15e "Strike Eagle" aircraft, which are assigned a "key role" in the program for "modernizing" NATO's nuclear weapons.

M. O'Neill, the eminent British Labour Party figure, believes that these plans may turn out to be part of the U.S. attempts to undermine the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and to "compensate" for the nuclear missiles which are being destroyed in Europe. "There has been frequent speculation recently," he said, "that the United States is trying to use the air-launched systems to replace its missiles."

The European public, in contrast to the Pentagon officials, experiences no satisfaction at all from the two reports which began this commentary. It is coming out increasingly resolutely in favor of the European land gradually ridding itself of its dangerous military freight and not being further stocked with such freight as the Pentagon is seeking.

NATO's Woerner Reacts to Force Cuts, Withdrawal

PM2501100789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko dispatch: "Soviet Initiatives From NATO Viewpoint. M. Woerner's Statements in Paris LE FIGARO"]

[Text] Paris—"It is a step in the right direction which must be welcomed," NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner declared, analyzing in the newspaper LE FIGARO the Soviet Union's decision to withdraw its military units and subunits from central Europe along with all armament, including tactical nuclear systems.

However, Woerner had several reservations. This initiative, he said, is still too indeterminate to make an exhaustive assessment of it. Questions such as these remain unanswered: How many missiles and precisely which ones will be withdrawn from central European countries? Where will they subsequently be redeployed?

Commenting on the figures cited by M.S. Gorbachev at his meeting with representatives of the Trilateral Commission concerning the reduction of Soviet armed forces in Europe, Woerner declared: They attest that the Soviet leader intends to tackle this problem in earnest. This is a good trend, but questions connected with the extent of the announced cuts remain unclear, particularly as the Soviet Union has never given the real figure for its military budget. Production of arms and combat hardware will be reduced by 19.5 percent, but we do not know how many arms the Russians produce, and so we are forced to make guesses and engage in espionage [shpionazh].

Even after a 14.2-percent cut in the military budget, according to the North Atlantic alliance's data, defense spending in the Soviet Union will amount to 13 percent of the gross national product. And a state which spends such sums on military needs will never be able to implement a comprehensive economic reform, Woerner believes.

Top military leaders in the Soviet Union, in Woerner's opinion, do not oppose the policy of cutting military expenditure. "The military leaders," he said, "realized perhaps sooner than the politicians that the Soviet Union will be in a position to maintain its military might only if it remains a strong economic power."

For the West, the talks on reducing conventional arms in Europe will show the Soviet Union's readiness to eliminate the existing inequality in its favor. It is possible, Woerner said, that on this question the Soviet leader will have to "explain himself" precisely to his military, who believe that approximate equality exists between the two blocs, whereas this, according to him, does not tally with reality.

Nuclear Reductions Detailed by General Medvedev

AU2201155389 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 13 Jan 89 p 4

[Interview 'especially for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI' given by Major General Vladimir Medvedev, head of the Soviet Center for Reducing Nuclear Danger, to NOVOSTI military commentator Colonel V. Morozov: "The Elimination of Nuclear Missiles: The Results in 1988"; date, place not given]

[Text] [Morozov] Please tell me how many intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles are subject to elimination in accordance with the Soviet-American treaty?

[Medvedev] In accordance with the treaty, both sides should eliminate a total of 2,692 intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, of which the United States is to eliminate 846: 677 "Pershing-II" and BGM-109G intermediate-range missiles, and 169 "Pershing-IA" shorter-range missiles. The Soviet side should eliminate 889 SS-20, SS-4, SS-5, and RK-55 intermediate-range missiles; and 957 SS-12 and SS-23 shorter-range missiles, a total of 1,846 missiles.

[Morozov] Seven months have gone by since 1 June 1988, when the Soviet-American treaty came into force. What has been done since then?

[Medvedev] The treaty is being implemented successfully. Both sides are discharging their commitments precisely. Since the beginning of 1989, the USSR and United States have eliminated a total of 700 intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, in other words about 30 percent.

If we classify these general figures according to the different types of missiles, we achieve the following picture:

Five hundred and twenty Soviet missiles have been reduced, including 220 intermediate-range missiles (102 SS-20's, 38 SS-4's, and 80 RK-55's), and 300 shorter-range missiles (300 SS-12's).

One hundred and seventy-two American missiles have been reduced, including 102 intermediate-range missiles (18 "Pershing-II's" and 84 BGM-109G's), and 70 shorter-range missiles (70 "Pershing-IA's.")

[Morozov] How many inspections did each side carry out in 1988 as part of the general controls over implementation of this treaty?

[Medvedev] Let me recall that in accordance with the treaty, inspections are carried out on USSR and U.S. territory, and on the territory of states where missiles are deployed.

The treaty envisages the following types of inspections:

—Inspections to check the initial data stated in the memorandum;

—Inspections to confirm the elimination of missile operational bases and buildings (over a period of 3 years);

—Inspections to check on annual quantities (over a period of 13 years; 20 inspections a year over the first 3 years from the commencement of the treaty, 15 inspections a year over the following 5 years, and 10 inspections a year over the remaining 5 years);

—Constant inspections, whose purpose is to check that a given factory has ceased to manufacture missiles (over a period of 13 years). In the USSR, such a factory is the Votkinsk machine industry plant (Udmurt ASSR), and in the United States the "Hercules" No 1 plant (in the city of Magna, in the state of Utah);

—Inspections in places where missile resources are being eliminated (in the course of 3 years).

In addition to the factories in Votkinsk and Magna, 117 premises are subject to inspection in the USSR, and 31 in the United States.

So far, the Soviet Union has carried out over 40 inspections, and the United States about 180.

Concrete data about the inspections may be represented as follows:

Type of inspection	Number	In the USSR	In the United States
Inspections to check initial data	148	117	31
Inspections to check the elimination of bases	17	17	-
Inspections on annual quantities	5	2	3
Constant inspections in industrial plants	2	1	1
Inspections at sites of elimination of missile resources (number of inspection groups)	46	39	7

Pact To Hold Exercises in CSSR First Half February
LD2601191889 Moscow TASS in English 1901 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Prague January 26 TASS—Under the plan of the command of the united armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states, joint exercises to involve troops of the Hungarian People's Army, the Central Group of Forces and the Czechoslovak People's Army will be held in Czechoslovak territory in the first half of February, CTK news agency reported.

Further on CEMA Executive Committee Session

Division of Labor Concept Adopted
PM2601104789 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 25 Jan 89 p 3

[Own information report: "On a Steep Turn"]

[Text] The ceremonial part of the 130th CEMA Executive Committee sitting devoted to CEMA's 40th anniversary was held in Moscow 23 January. The sitting was opened by A. Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CEMA Executive Committee. He described the path traveled by the council as a model of true equality and fraternal mutual assistance. Today it is no longer possible to imagine the socialist community without the powerful economic instrument of CEMA.

After noting the successes achieved by the organization, A. Lukanov emphasized that the socioeconomic transformations taking place in many countries and the processes of democratization and glasnost cannot fail to have an influence on CEMA's work. Qualitative restructuring of the mechanism of multilateral cooperation and of socialist economic integration is required of the organization more than ever today.

In his report CEMA Secretary V.V. Sychev spoke in greater detail about the new concept of the international socialist division of labor.

The decisions of the CEMA countries' economic summit (1984) and the elaboration and realization of the Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 became a new starting point for the development of relations among the CEMA partners. The decisions adopted at the 43d (extraordinary, 1987) and 44th (1988) CEMA Session sittings, which were based on the views expressed at the 1986 working meeting of leaders of the CEMA countries' communist and workers parties, are of very great significance for intensifying cooperation.

Thus, a collective concept of the international socialist division of labor was adopted at the 44th sitting and is to be realized during 1991-2005. It is a program to accelerate scientific and technical progress and ensure a technological breakthrough in the priority areas of science and technology. The ultimate aim is the restructuring of the international socialist division of labor. The acute question now raised is that of transferring from the intersectoral model to a new, technological model based on intrasectoral exchange, including scientific-production collaboration and the use of flexible forms of production, scientific, and technical cooperation, which make it possible to react quickly to the changing needs of production and consumption.

It is impossible to restructure the CEMA mechanism without realizing the Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technical Progress. Approximately 1,500 CEMA organizations and enterprises are working on this today. New technological equipment and materials, industrial robots, and machine tools are being developed. All the program's targets will be fulfilled by the year 2000, and more than 1,500 kinds of new equipment, approximately 500 progressive manufacturing processes, more than 400 materials, and much else will be created.

The main way to develop cooperation under these conditions is to develop new, progressive forms in every possible way—direct collaborative ties among associations, enterprises, and scientific research organizations; joint enterprises; international associations and organizations. So far, however, these forms are proving slow to get established in economic relations among the community countries. They have not yet produced a return or become a catalyst of accelerated cooperation.

The development of new forms of collaboration also requires new approaches to price, currency, and credit instruments of cooperation. The underuse of commodity-money relations has today become a "bottleneck" in integration. The updating of the CEMA countries' currency and financial relations is of great significance.

The gradual formation of conditions for the free movement of goods, services, and other factors between countries with a view to forming a united market in the long term is an organic part of the qualitative changes in the CEMA countries' collaboration. An accord on this was reached at the 43d and 44th CEMA Session sittings.

PRAVDA Reviews Session
PM2601162189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Session of CEMA Executive Committee"]

[Text] The 130th session of the CEMA Executive Committee was held in Moscow 23 through 25 January.

The following representatives took part in it: A. Lukanov, Bulgaria; P. Medgyessy, Hungary; Tran Duc Luong, SRV; H. Soelle, GDR; A. Esquivel, Cuba; M. Peljee, Mongolia; I. Sekula, Poland; S. Andrei, Romania; N. Talyzin, USSR; J. Obzina, CSSR; and also V. Sychev, the council's secretary.

In accordance with the agreement between CEMA and the SFRY Government, J. Panajotovic, permanent SFRY CEMA representative, took part in the Executive Committee's work.

A. Lukanov, the Bulgarian representative, chaired the session.

The countries' representatives discussed a report from the CEMA Committee on Cooperation in Scientific and Technical Research to the effect that major targeted science, production, and technological projects are being elaborated in accordance with the CEMA session decision based on the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000. The preparation of these projects will enable the efforts of countries to be concentrated on important scientific and technical developments of economic significance. Six targeted projects that provide, in particular, for the creation of highly productive equipment for producing new construction materials, notably ceramics, and goods made of these materials for high-efficiency motors, and the introduction of protective coating technologies and preparations for raising the yield from basic agricultural crops have already been coordinated. Work is continuing on a number of other targeted projects. It is envisaged that corresponding agreements will be elaborated within the framework of coordination of economic plans for the period 1991-1995 to bring these projects to fruition.

The results of multilateral cooperation between the European CEMA countries and the SRV, Cuba, and Mongolia in the machine building sphere were examined. The development of the specialized and cooperative production of tools, instruments, ships, and sailing vessels in the SRV and of transport and agricultural machine building in Cuba was noted. Cooperation measures to develop the production of equipment for various economic spheres have been coordinated in order to include these countries more actively in the international socialist division of labor in machine building and to ensure the dynamic development of this sector.

Analyzing the activity of the organization for cooperation in the bearings industry, the Executive Committee noted the effectiveness of its work. Specialization and cooperation in this sphere have facilitated the creation of automated production of large bearing assemblies in member countries, and the coordination of reciprocal deliveries within the framework of this organization has helped satisfy the countries' requirements for ball bearings. Scientific and technical cooperation has resulted in an increase in their quality and reliability. In the future, cooperation will be mainly aimed at eliminating the continuing shortage of individual types of special bearings, boosting the technical standards of goods, meeting special equipment needs more fully, and enhancing the effectiveness of the organization for cooperation in the bearings industry's activity in light of the possibility of applying the principles of economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet].

The Executive Committee discussed the materials prepared by the representatives of the countries involved in the 14th conference of culture ministers of socialist countries on pressing problems of cooperation in the development of the material and technical base of culture and took steps to elaborate the appropriate proposals.

Work is continuing to fulfill the CEMA session decisions on questions of restructuring the mechanism for multilateral cooperation, socialist economic integration, and CEMA activity. In this connection a report was heard on the plan and the outlined main work areas for the Executive Committee's provisional working group set up by the interested countries to elaborate a concept for the restructuring of the mechanism.

The Executive Committee examined questions of developing direct ties between CEMA countries' enterprises, associations, and organizations and developing the activity of joint enterprises created by interested countries, and discussed possible steps to help boost their role in broadening specialization and production cooperation. The need to step up the effect of these forms of cooperation on resolving the problems of scientific and technical progress, dynamizing reciprocal commodity turnover and improving its structure, and increasing production of competitive output was pointed out. The work to create economic and other conditions for enterprises to take a more active part in mutual cooperation will be continued.

The Executive Committee discussed a number of questions relating to the improvement of cooperation in the currency and finance relations of CEMA countries. In particular, a report was examined on measures elaborated by the interested countries to use national currencies in reciprocal transactions exchanging goods and services within the framework of direct ties. The interested countries stressed that implementation of the appropriate bilateral intergovernmental agreements (between the USSR and Bulgaria, Mongolia, Poland, and the CSSR and between Bulgaria and the CSSR) that have already been signed will create practical incentives for this. At the same time, as the aforementioned countries pointed out at the session, the implementation of these agreements is proceeding slowly and a number of obstacles are cropping up, stemming above all from inadequate links between national economic mechanisms. The representatives of these CEMA countries have agreed to continue the work on using national currencies in their reciprocal transactions in light of the experience that has been accumulated. In particular, Bulgarian, Polish, USSR, and CSSR bank representatives together with the International Economic Cooperation Bank are elaborating proposals on the procedure for organizing

international transactions and currency auctions at wholesale trade markets and also on forms for organizing the work of these banks while they are being held.

It was noted that the interested countries together with the International Economic Cooperation Bank and the International Investment Bank are elaborating measures aimed at strengthening the monetary functions of the convertible ruble and enabling these countries to use their national currencies in reciprocal transactions. The Executive Committee instructed the CEMA Commission on Currency and Finance Questions to continue the aforementioned work.

The session discussed proposals to improve the methodology of the present system of price formation in reciprocal trade between CEMA member countries and also discussed the basis of contract prices in reciprocal trade between CEMA member countries for the next 5-year period. The Executive Committee recommended that work continue to bring the positions of CEMA members closer together.

A report was heard from the CEMA Secretariat on its preliminary consultations with the delegation of EEC experts regarding the further development of ties between the two organizations. The Executive Committee authorized the Secretariat to embark on discussion of concrete avenues, forms, and methods of cooperation with the EC.

Approval was given to the plan of measures to implement contacts between CEMA and international economic and scientific and technical organizations and also to CEMA's cooperation programs with the UN Industrial Development Organization, the Latin American Economic System, the UN Environment Program, the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, and the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. The contacts outlined include CEMA participation in international conferences, meetings, and seminars for the representatives of developing countries held by the United Nations and its organizations, exchange of information and methodological and normative materials on the activity of CEMA and the corresponding international organizations, and cooperation in preparing joint studies and projects.

Proposals to improve the activity of the commissions for cooperation between CEMA and the developing countries that have the relevant agreements with the council were examined and approved. Approval was given to proposals regarding the possible spheres for and forms of cooperation between CEMA and the Latin American Energy Organization.

The program for the CEMA Secretariat's information and propaganda activity for the period 1989-1990 and measures to broaden glasnost in the activity of the council's organs have been adopted. There are plans to open up the process of discussing questions in CEMA organs, systematically publish its documents, and strengthen contacts with the mass media.

The 40th anniversary of CEMA's activity was celebrated in a solemn atmosphere. Speakers A. Lukanov, chairman of the Executive Committee, and V. Sychev, secretary of the council, described the main phases of CEMA's activity and the pressing tasks of developing economic and scientific-technical cooperation among CEMA countries.

The Executive Committee session took place in an atmosphere of frank exchange of opinions, mutual understanding, and comradely cooperation.

Gerasimov Gives News Briefing 26 January

Total End to Nuclear Arms Sought

LD2601153289 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—The Soviet Union is for abolishing all nuclear arms, including tactical ones, as early as during the lifetime of the present generation, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov told a news briefing here on Thursday.

Gerasimov, chief of the ministry's Information Directorate, said that at the Vienna followup meeting the Soviet Union from the very beginning was for the tactical nuclear weapons, including short-range (under 500 kilometer) missiles, to be covered by the mandate of talks on the reduction of conventional armed forces in Europe.

NATO countries, however, were categorically opposed and the agreed mandate left tactical nuclear systems out, he added.

Commenting on frequent Western assertions concerning the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons, Gerasimov said:

"The Soviet Union is not modernizing such weapons. We believe that such modernization is a step back rather than forward.

"What will happen in relation to modernization further, however, will depend on our Western counterparts. It is clear though that unilateral steps presuppose restraint on the other side too."

It is likewise obvious, the spokesman went on, that radical cuts in troops and conventional arms, which significantly lower the mutual risk of a surprise attack and offensive operations, effectively remove any grounds for NATO and the Warsaw Treaty to retain tactical nuclear arsenals.

Japanese Military Spending Noted

LD2601151989 Moscow TASS in English 1505 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—Japan's positive reaction to the forthcoming reduction of the Soviet armed forces in the eastern part of the USSR by 200 thousand men has been noted in the Soviet Union, it was stated at a briefing here today by Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate. However, he noted, the Japanese Government's practical steps can hardly be regarded as adequate to the spirit and essence of the Soviet steps. The point in question is the Japanese Government's decision of January 24th to increase the country's mililtary spendings in the 1989 fiscal year by almost six per cent under the old pretext of a "persisting Soviet menace."

The National Defence Council, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman noted, had earlier passed a decision on the participation of all the three arms of the Japanese self-defence forces in the history's largest exercises in the Pacific Ocean, which the United States plans to hold this autumn.

These steps, Gennadiy Gerasimov said, can hardly contribute to an improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations. "In the meantime, unanimity on the need of such an improvement was achieved during Eduard Shevardnadze's recent visit to Japan. Japan's military buildup will hardly be conducive to the strengthening of security and confidence in the Pacific region," he stressed.

UN Middle East Talks Needed

LD2601152789 Moscow TASS in English 1516 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—A senior Soviet spokesman on Thursday reiterated his country's view that an international conference under the U.N. aegis is needed to achieve a Middle East settlement.

The spokesman, Gennadiy Gerasimov, said the preparation of the conference presupposes broadcast dialogue among all interested sides.

The Soviet Union is aware of the worldwide positive trend towards political solutions to regional conflicts, which in a number of cases are being settled with the assistance of the USSR and the United States, he said.

Gerasimov, chief of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, added: "We are for mutual understanding and interaction with the United States in the Middle East issue as well.

"Soviet-American dialogue on a settlement in the region was intensive and substantive with the previous administration.

"We intend to carry on the dialogue, especially with regard for positive changes in the situation itself and in the U.S. approach, in order to secure a practical start to the peace-making process and the convocation of an international conference.

"We haven't yet had a specific discussion of related regional issues with the new U.S. Administration though," the spokesman said.

U.S. Cooperation on Mideast Conference Sought

LD2601181789 Moscow TASS in English 1738 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—The Soviet Union favours a conference on the Middle East. It holds that the situation in the region can only be normalised by political means, said a senior Foreign Ministry official on

Thursday. When asked by a TASS diplomatic correspondent about an ITN report saying that the USA and the USSR had allegedly agreed upon the agenda and the date of the conference, he answered: "This is an "overstatement"."

Soviet diplomats are working hard to broaden the dialogue between all interested parties, said the Foreign Ministry's spokesman. It would certainly be good if such an important question could be agreed upon with the new American Administration in a week. But this is hardly possible—the problem is very complicated. "In the USSR the idea of the conference enjoys support and every effort is being taken for it to be held as soon as possible", he reiterated.

Comparison of Shevardnadze CSCE Speech

PM2001103189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 20 January 1989 carries in its Second Edition on page 5 a TASS report on the speech given by Foreign Minister E.E. Shevardnadze on 19 January at the final session in Vienna of the meeting of CSCE member states. The PRAVDA report, entitled "Greater Scale and Quality of All-European Dialogue," has been compared with the Moscow TASS English report published in the 19 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 12, revealing the following variations of significance:

Page fifteen, column two, paragraph five reads in PRAVDA: ...and Canada our multifaceted dialogue and diverse cooperation are projected... (changing wording)

Page sixteen, column one, paragraph three reads in PRAVDA: ...meeting, which has made possible a rapprochement in our positions and peoples. (changing wording)

Comparison of Shevardnadze Meeting With IAEA Head

PM2001111589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 January 1989 carries in its Second Edition on page 8 a TASS report under the general heading "Meeting in Vienna," on Shevardnadze's meeting with IAEA Director Hans Blix. The PRAVDA report has been compared with the Moscow TASS English report published in the 23 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 7, revealing the following variations:

Second paragraph, first sentence of item reads in PRAVDA: ...nuclear power engineering. [new paragraph] The 30 years of experience in verification accumulated by the agency could also be used in the course of developing a system of monitoring and inspections for future measures in disarmament—both nuclear and chemical. [new paragraph] E.A. Shevardnadze informed Hans Blix... (supplying additional paragraph)

Vienna Meeting, Bush Inauguration Reviewed

PM2601111589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Manki Ponomarev article under the rubric "The World Today: Problems and Opinions": "Clear the Way Together"]

[Text] Among the multitude of events of this last week, two attracted particular attention. The first took place in Vienna, where representatives of the 35 states participating in the all-European process adopted a final document. The second event was the inauguration in Washington—the formal swearing-in of G. Bush, elected President of the United States in November last year. These two events, despite all the differences between them in both substance and form, are interconnected to a certain extent, in the sense that they will both have an impact on the course of world development.

So, to the first event.

Vienna. For 27 months, representatives of the 35 CSCE states have been hard at work here. Consultations between representatives of the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO states have been held in parallel. Now their work is complete. The final document has been drafted and unanimously approved. The foreign ministers of the countries participating in the Vienna meeting have made decisions that take the Helsinki process to a new level, to new frontiers. It is a remarkable success. It is evidence of the effectiveness of fresh, realistic approaches to international affairs. The meeting's final document and the mandate for talks on conventional arms and armed forces are an unprecedented event in terms of their content, aims, and the positive results we have a right to expect—not only for Europe but for the whole world.

The main result of the meeting is the Vienna accord. It was achieved to a considerable extent because the mutual faultfinding and recriminations in relations between states belonging to different sociopolitical systems are now being supplanted increasingly frequently by concerted efforts to find mutually acceptable solutions. The Vienna meeting itself has established new forms of interstate communication—this can be said without any doubt. In this respect, in my view, it is also important to stress that all the participants in the meeting have been able to take steps to meet one another halfway, although the problems that were on the agenda were by no means simple and straightforward. Inviting others to reasonable compromise, the Soviet Union itself covered a considerable distance in its understanding and assessment of the problems which throughout these long months have more than once been the subject of sharp conflicts.

The Vienna decisions have laid the foundation stones of the all-European home. The new political thinking is becoming a fact of life. This is evidenced by the final document and the recognition that its military-political, humanitarian-legal, and human dimensions are equally important.

It is not possible for me to dwell on the detailed characteristics of all these dimensions here. The final document itself has not even been published yet. Nevertheless, I believe we can concentrate our attention on some of the problems raised and resolved in Vienna.

First of all, I should emphasize that talks between all 35 participating states are going to be held here, in the Austrian capital, at the beginning of March to discuss military confidence- and security-building measures (a continuation of the Stockholm conference), as well as talks between the 23 Warsaw Pact and NATO countries on conventional arms and armed forces in Europe. The aim of the latter talks, as defined in the mandate that forms an appendix to the final document, is to establish stability and security on the continent with lower levels of conventional arms and armed forces by eliminating existing asymmetries and the potential for a surprise attack or for initiating large-scale offensive operations. All forms of arms and equipment stationed on land, including delivery vehicles for dual-purpose systems (conventional and nuclear), will be considered for the purpose of making cuts, although the nuclear component of these weapons will not be a subject of the talks. The talks will embrace the region extending from the Atlantic to the Urals, including all island territories of the participants, as well as a large part of Asian Turkey and the Soviet Transcaucasus.

Together with its allies, the Soviet Union is preparing for a very serious, businesslike discussion of all the issues designated in the mandate. The USSR is giving real substance to its defensive military doctrine. The unilateral reduction in the Soviet Armed Forces that has been announced totals 12 percent of their numerical strength. Of the 500,000 men by which the Army and Navy are to be reduced, 240,000 are from the European part of the country, 200,000 from the eastern part, and 60,000 from the southern part. Of the 10,000 tanks being cut in Europe, 5,000 will be physically eliminated [fizicheski likvidirovany]. A number of formations and units which give an offensive nature to the group of Soviet troops in Eastern Europe will be withdrawn from there. By 1 January 1991, this entire group will be exclusively defensive. Incidentally, the formations and units that are going to be withdrawn from central Europe will depart from there with all their regular weapons, including tactical nuclear systems.

This is how the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defense is being realized in practice. The problem is that this principle has two criteria. And one of them is directly dependent on the actions of the other side. In other words, the other side, or to be more precise its actions, determine the level of this sufficiency.

If we return once more to our general assessment of the results of the Vienna meeting and the accord achieved there, I feel it would be appropriate to quote E.A. Shevardnadze's words that it opens the way to a Europe based on trust, law, and openness. The Soviet Union's contribution to the formulation and achievement of these aims is recognized by the whole world. I will give you just one testimony to this. "Without the constructive stand taken by the Soviet Union and the majority of its allies," the Austrian newspaper DIE PRESSE wrote, "the forum could not have succeeded. Gorbachev's policy of reforms gave decisive impetus to the Vienna meeting and led to the adoption of the final document, which serves as a kind of set of house rules for the future 'common European home.'"

Now to the second event. Let us move from Vienna to Washington. Never has a U.S. presidential inauguration been as magnificent and festive as this one. George Bush, the 41st President of the United States, has sworn to conscientiously perform his duty.

The new President belongs to the same Republican Party as his predecessor, R. Reagan, and has more than once talked of continuity in the policy he intends to pursue. Nevertheless, we have every reason to say that, with Reagan's departure, an entire era in American history has come to a close. That is because Reagan personified all the contradictoriness of U.S. policy, particularly foreign policy, and also all the major changes that occurred in this policy in the last 8 years. Let us remember that Reagan began by calling for a "crusade" against the "evil empire" and the adoption of a program to build up strategic offensive forces, which led to an unprecedented arms race. The evolution since then has been remarkable. Progress has been made via Geneva, Reykjavik, Washington, and Moscow to recognition of the inconceivability of nuclear war; the elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles; and talks on reducing strategic offensive weapons, which are now well advanced; as well as progress in the direction of bringing Soviet-American relations to a state close to civilized norms. Reagan himself, recalling his meetings with M.S. Gorbachev, said the following: "We have gone a long way together to clear the way to peace."

But what line will George Bush take in international affairs? At present, of course, this cannot be said with any certainty. But here is a characteristic statement from a high-ranking figure in the new administration: "It seems at present that there is potentially a real possibility of a new type of relationship marked by greater predictability and greater stability and taking advantage of what seems to be a new realism in the policy of the Soviet Union." One would very much like to believe that this will be so.

One would like to believe...but the inertia of the past and inertia of thinking are very strong across the ocean, and this cannot be ignored. Congress has been given the draft military budget for the next fiscal year, which is in excess of $315 billion. Preparations are being made for the biggest-ever U.S. military maneuvers in the Pacific, to which it is planned to assign 4 aircraft carrier groups, 2-3 divisions of ground forces, a marine division, and more than 500 aircraft, including B-52 strategic bombers.

The most conservative circles in the United States are making fresh efforts to put pressure on the administration. Through the Heritage Foundation publication MANDATE-3, their representatives have put forward demands which, if met, would inevitably lead to a return to the worst "cold war" times. These efforts also include a program of crude interference in Soviet internal affairs, a provocative appeal to support counterrevolutionary movements throughout the world, and the expressed desire to speed up the development [razrabotka] of SDI, while postponing talks with the Soviet Union on cuts in strategic offensive arms for a year.

However, it is not the troglodytes in the Heritage Foundation who determine the main directions of world politics today. We are sure that it will be possible to ensure peaceful living conditions for present and future generations of Soviet people, as the CPSU Central Committee assures us in its election address.

Adamishin, Burlatskiy Discuss Human Rights

PM2501143089 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Jan 89 pp 2, 14

[Conversation between F.M. Burlatskiy, chairman of the Public Commission for Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, and Deputy Foreign Minister A.A. Adamishin, as part of feature also including the text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "On the Way to 1991"—date, place not given; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The successful results of the Vienna meeting of states taking part in the all-European process were assessed highly both in the USSR and in other countries of the world. Along with the mandate for the continuation of talks on nuclear and conventional weapons and armed forces, decisions were adopted on holding humanitarian conferences in Paris, Copenhagen, and Moscow. Today we publish a conversation between F.M. Burlatskiy, chairman of the Public Commission for Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, and Deputy Foreign Minister A.A. Adamishin, as well as the text of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

[Burlatskiy] M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the UN General Assembly session, which has attracted keen attention throughout the world, was probably the first time that the significance of the problem of human rights in the context of international relations as a whole had been emphasized so forcefully. Now the Vienna meeting has shown how important this was in general for its successful completion.

[Adamishin] The speech did indeed make a very powerful impression. At first, and this is only natural, what came to the fore was the concrete proposals it contained on a wide range of international problems and on the most marked problem areas in the life of mankind. Now, judging by the reactions coming in, people in various states are giving more and more thought to the conceptual aspect of the speech, which was unprecedented in its depth of penetration of the realities of the modern world. If you single out the humanitarian sphere, which is closely related to my professional concerns, then you are right, there is much here too that is fundamentally new. And the various facets of this vast topic are logically linked together by a profound philosophical foundation. I am talking first and foremost about the primacy of common human values over class and group values. Another important new feature of our policy is also emphasized once again, namely the elevation of the humanitarian component to hold an equal place with the military, political, economic, and ecological components in the concept of international security. This means embarking on the humanization of international relations, the strengthening of their international legal foundations, and the effort to create a legal order that accords with common human laws of ethics and morality. And finally, our internal affairs—these had a very clear resonance in the speech. The high standard of analysis made it possible, if I can put it this way, to raise the level of demands made on the laws being drafted in the country and on the characteristics of the new political system that is taking shape in our country in general. So from this viewpoint too restructuring received a marked boost.

[Burlatskiy] You rightly noted the paramountcy of the common human approach over the narrow class approach. I would like to add that for all the diversity of views, the bourgeois and socialist concepts go back to the same historical sources; they drew many ideas from the great thinkers of the age of the Enlightenment and the early bourgeois revolutions, from Voltaire and Rousseau, Montesquieu and Hugo Grotius, Jefferson and Paine. The Marxist concept of human rights as the supreme common human moral, legal, and cultural values was formed in the course of the struggle of the people's masses for liberation.

[Adamishin] There is a similarity, but there are also very important differences. This, incidentally, increases the temptation of certain of our partners to utilize the subject of human rights for propaganda purposes, starting from the presumption of the infallibility of the bourgeois concept. What we propose, however, is not so much to argue about who is best—we will let time decide that—as to feel our way toward ways of cooperating in the humanitarian sphere too. A solid international legal

basis exists for this, created in the main in the postwar period, and by joint efforts at that. This basis should be acceptable to East, West, North, and South.

[Burlatskiy] From our "corner" it is also clear that democratization and the improvement of legislation in the USSR have opened a new chapter in international cooperation too.

It was the great misfortune of our country's history that Russia did not have a liberal tradition—in other words, individual human rights. In England, the Bill of Rights was adopted in 1689, in France the Declaration of Rights of Man and the Citizen was adopted in 1789, and in the United States the Bill of Rights—in 1789. In our country it was not until 1918 that the Declaration of Rights of the Working Person and the Exploited People was proclaimed. And only now have we come to an understanding of the need for a Declaration of Human Rights.

The 1936 USSR Constitution proclaimed not only social rights, but civil and political rights of the individual. But that did not guarantee the country against Stalin's tyranny. The text of the 1977 USSR Constitution mechanically carried over the main formulations of the former Constitution, despite the fact that by then the USSR had taken on the very important commitments on human rights enshrined in the 1948 UN Declaration, the documents of 1966, and the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, that is to say, those documents that constitute the international legal basis for cooperation of which we spoke.

This approach to commitments to our own people and the world community reflected the traditional view of democracy as a form of class domination. We longed to find forms of democracy that did not continue the old forms, but refuted them by demonstrating their bankruptcy. In the process we not infrequently threw out, along with the bourgeois bathwater, the baby—the common human content of democracy. The worst of the traditions of old Russia filtered through into the new society via hundreds of different channels—psychological, political, and moral—and made themselves at home there.

The most important thing to come out of the 19th party conference was the identification of human rights as the main criterion of democracy. Basically a view that is new to us has emerged, changing the ancient political tradition.

[Adamishin] I too will permit myself an excursion into history. The political history of Russia and the West has many common roots. Take Christianity alone, for instance, which—for all the differences between Orthodoxy and Catholicism—had a powerful and in many ways similar influence on the political culture of Russia and the Western countries. Russia was born in Europe, and this is by no means only a geographical fact. It grew up in the European cradle and was formed not separately, but together with other countries of the continent.

The ideas of personal freedoms and the limitation of state power in favor of the individual and society were not alien to the Russian people. It is not such a long time, in historical terms—half a millenium—that separates us from the Novgorod Republic, and one could also recall Pskov, the traditions of the veche [popular assembly] in other Russian cities, and much else. Despotism on Russian soil was acquired from the Batus, Mamais, and "Suleiman the Magnificents." It was not in accordance with the religious or political tradition of the time. Yes, it was implanted by those in power. Yes, what V.I. Lenin called "Asian barbarism" put severe pressure on the principles of freedom. But no one ever succeeded in eradicating the Russian democratic impulse.

Today it is fashionable to say that we are not ready for democracy, that we have no appropriate tradition. That is both true and not true. After all, we must not forget such pillars as L. Tolstoy and F. Dostoyevskiy, and the whole of our literature which campaigned so persistently for morality. We must not forget those who, often unsuccessfully, proclaimed that the development of the individual is the basis for social transformations. We must not, lastly, forget the precious legacy of Lenin's ideas on the socialist state and the rule of law, his struggle to create the foundations of a rule-of-law state in our country.

[Burlatskiy] All that is true. But it is also true that there was an enormous gulf between leading Russian thought, state practice, and political culture. That was what created the ground on which Stalinism appeared.

[Adamishin] But all the same, it is in the confrontation between the two political and cultural trends, which we could loosely call the Eurpean and the Asian, that the unique nature of our fatherland's historical development lies. People in the West are astonished: How could M.S. Gorbachev appear in a country that lived through 3 decades of Stalinism? How could such a rapid revitalization of the country be possible after 2 decades of progressive paralysis? This is the very time to take as our starting point the Russian humanist and democratic traditions that run through our society and through the party, and that never, I repeat, not even in the hardest years, ran dry.

From here one can trace a thread leading to the justification for our participation in the drawing up of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the drafting of the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act concerning human rights, and the establishment of international pacts on human rights as increasingly authoritative documents common to all mankind. It is our country that is currently the source of the appeal to harmonize domestic legislation and domestic practice with interantional standards. This task faces all states, though with varying levels of urgency. Moreover, some of them are totally unable to overcome their isolationist tendencies. The United States, for instance, has to this day not ratified

the pacts on political, civil, economic, social, and cultural rights adopted by the United Nations in 1966. This also applies to a considerable number of other international documents governing the situation in this sphere. It is abnormal for such a significant international document as the convention against torture to remain unsigned by a majority of countries, while, according to UN figures, more than 100 states of the world still use torture. In short, the most important thing now is for states to adhere to existing international documents and fulfill the commitments arising from them.

[Burlatskiy] That does not remove the problem of improving national legislation.

[Adamishin] Quite true. If we put our hands on our hearts, we have not come up to the level of our international commitments in every sphere. But it is not stretching a point to say that the situation is changing, and if you look back at when it started—April 1985—it is changing fast. Nevertheless, when you compare these changes with today's requirements, you cannot help wondering: Could we not accelerate the process? It is all very well to show a salutary mistrust of haste and ensure that the drafting of new domestic norms is well founded and well thought out, but the urge to ban things and insist on old methods that no longer work is another matter. Only the full safeguarding of the rights of the individual can allow its potential to develop and bring into play what we now call the human factor. Without this we are unlikely to succeed in rectifying the state of affairs, and that includes the economic sphere. So it is a thousand times true that we need democratization like the air we breathe and that it stems from our profoundest inner needs.

Freedom, it seems to me, is an idea that runs right through history, especially if you proceed on the basis that the progressive development of mankind in the economic and social spheres is itself directly associated with the extent of man's emancipation. But the idea of freedom is itself changing and being perfected. There is a growing understanding, which did not exist yesterday, that it is within the framework of freedom that true responsibility is born, that otherwise both these concepts are enfeebled, and that responsibility ultimately means responsibility for the freedom of others. Just as human rights have only one natural restriction—the rights of other people. And that is how duties should be defined.

[Burlatskiy] International norms in the sphere of human rights do not stand still, they are constantly improving. It is clearly necessary to take account of this fact too in bringing our domestic legislation into line with international commitments.

[Adamishin] That is, of course, true. Although on some issues it is impossible to move instantly to advanced positions. For instance, a trend toward the abolition of the death penalty is now developing in many states. But in our country, and not only here, the opinion is more widespread that this form of the supreme measure of punishment should be retained. Those who think otherwise are patently a minority.

[Burlatskiy] It should not be forgotten that the death penalty was abolished on Lenin's initiative, and this was done after a terrible civil war, in conditions where an enormous amount of crime persisted.

[Adamishin] I do not think we can do that now, taking into account the view of the majority. But it can be said confidently that the number of types of crime punishable by death in our country will be considerably reduced.

[Burlatskiy] Our commission has more than once come out in favor of abolishing the death penalty. An exception could be made solely for people committing premeditated murder. Incidentally, how do our American partners look at it?

[Adamishin] They too have a great diversity of opinions. Taken as a whole, American public opinion on this matter is not very different from our own. For instance, in a number of states they have laws that permit the execution of criminals who are minors, which as you know, does not happen here. As I mentioned, our lawyers, prosecutors, attorneys, and scientists in the sphere of law are more and more often discussing problems of interest with American colleagues on a solid footing. And not only positive experience—what we could borrow from one another—but negative experience too. The Americans are also uncovering a whole range of problems that we are helping them to expose and eliminate. In general a rather interesting process of openness is in progress. Our specialists are visiting American prisons and psychiatric hospitals and Americans have visited our correctional institutions. Incidentally, after visiting a colony they observed that they had expected worse. So familiarity does not always breed contempt.

Let me mention the struggle against drugs, in which connection E.A. Shevardnadze and G. Shultz quite recently signed a special agreement on the struggle against AIDS and alcoholism. A very important matter is the quest for Nazi criminals hiding in the United States. These are all real problems, and cooperation can benefit—and already is benefiting—both us and the Americans. Only a couple of years ago this was simply inconceivable.

[Burlatskiy] Coming back to the question of major changes in our laws and the practice that is still current, one cannot but mention freedom of movement. We have hitherto been reproached more on this subject than on any other. At one time the strange idea grew up that under socialism there should be a narrowing, not a widening of this right. In the period when the country was encircled by capitalism and the political regime was eroded by the ideology and practice of the personality cult and when the country's isolation was regarded as a

necessary condition of socialist building, this right suffered most of all. It affects not only entry and exit into and out of the country, but also the right to choose a place of residence within the country.

We are asked: Why has the passport system remained inviolate for so long? Why is it some kind of "sacred cow" that must not be touched? There is no passport system in Yugoslavia; citizens receive a passport only when they want to go abroad. In many East European countries there are no residence permits. Say what you like, the passport system is two-thirds based on the system of total monitoring of citizens, and not on economic considerations. To begin with, we should discuss the question of drastically reducing the number of cities where residence permits will continue, and also the possibility of any citizen's obtaining a passport to travel abroad.

[Adamishin] In this sphere there have also been changes of both a legal and practical nature in recent years. Opportunities for trips abroad have widened markedly, and that includes trips on so-called personal business, first and foremost the reuniting of families, and there has been an increase in the number of people leaving to reside permanently abroad.

[Burlatskiy] Could you give any figures?

[Adamishin] In 1988 more than 100,000 people received permission to leave permanently. That represents a major growth compared with last year.

[Burlatskiy] By how much?

[Adamishin] By more than 150 percent.

[Burlatskiy] And how many refusals were there?

[Adamishin] As far as I can tell, refusals account for only 1.5 percent of the number of those wishing to leave. It is a question of the problem of secrecy.

[Burlatskiy] Do you not think that we have exaggerated the requirements in this sphere, that amendments should be made in the light of rapid technological growth?

[Adamishin] A legislative act on questions of entry and exit is now in preparation, and it will reflect this problem too. M.S. Gorbachev spoke about this in some detail from the UN platform. I think it is fair to say that refusals are already comparatively small in number and considerable cleanup work has been done. At the same time we still have to adopt a document on entry and exit questions that accords with the highest standards from the viewpoint of safeguarding individual rights.

[Burlatskiy] Another problem. There are not all that many people who want to emigrate, but there are a great many, especially young people, who would like to visit other countries. It is well-known, for instance, that more than 30,000 Chinese students study abroad. In the United States alone there are some 20,000 of them. I know many universities—American and West European—show readiness for such exchanges, and not necessarily on a basis of parity.

[Adamishin] Clearly as time goes on the main factor limiting the desire you speak of will not be bans, but the purely economic factor. There is no getting away from the problem of "filthy lucre." The ruble is not yet a convertible currency. The state's situation with currency reserves is not brilliant. But wherever no currency burdens are imposed on the country, it is highly desirable to make use of opportunities for exchange, and that includes students and teachers. I think things are gradually moving in this direction. In the conditions of economic reform, the expansion of direct ties in the sphere of culture, and so forth, we will become increasingly involved in the world system of national economic, humanitarian, and information ties.

[Burlatskiy] You have touched on an extremely relevant question. It seems that the long-term aim of our policy in this sphere is to further overcome the country's isolation, not only economic, but also cultural and information isolation, which has developed over many decades. This aim is determined by two urgent needs. The first is to approach world standards in the sphere of economic and, particularly, technological development, which is possible only given active exchange of information. The second is the need to strengthen our cultural and information influence on foreign countries. Our role as a great power has hitherto been determined mainly by the USSR's military might. At the same time we have been losing the competition with the West in the sphere of the economy and information, which is becoming an increasingly significant factor in present-day international relations.

Now for another sphere. Our commission is also participating actively in work to radically change legislation concerning the church and freedom of conscience. Early last year we put a proposal to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium that amnesty be granted to all who were convicted of so-called religious crimes. At the time there were about 100 of them.

[Adamishin] In his 7 December speech Mikhail Sergeyevich stressed particularly that there is no one in a place of imprisonment who was sentenced for his political and religious convictions. And in general, whatever sphere you take, progress is in evidence everywhere, although there are still many problems. At the recent conference of our consular services at the Foreign Ministry—the first in history—the following figures were cited: 150,000 Soviet citizens and 20 million of our compatriots who do not have Soviet citizenship live permanently abroad. As E.A. Shevardnadze stressed, we should turn our face toward them, and make it a welcoming face. Because that face is, for Soviet citizens, the face of the motherland. And as for our compatriots, we want these people

to be among the forces that promote the development of relations between their country of residence and the Soviet Union, that help restructuring. You cannot repulse a person simply on the grounds that he once left the USSR.

What is another matter is that this category also contains enemies of ours, but it seems to me that they are patently in a minority. V. Vysotskiy, mentioning Israel in one of his songs, once said that one-fourth of them are "our former people." Let there be more of our friends both there and throughout the world. Ultimately this is one of the main objectives of foreign policy—to have as many friends and as few enemies as possible. In the years of renewal our country's image has gained perceptibly in the eyes of world public opinion. The wave of general human solidarity that rose up in connection with the tragic events in Armenia showed this convincingly.

One may speak of a certain dialectical relationship. On the one hand, our domestic processes are having an increasingly beneficial effect on international affairs and the general climate in the world. On the other, we are obtaining increasingly tangible advantages from international cooperation, in the humanitarian sphere and elsewhere. A recent example: In addition to its other very important results, the all-European meeting that ended recently in Vienna has a detailed section on human rights whose provisions are directed toward a real improvement in this sphere. They include the decision to hold the Moscow humanitarian conference in 1991. This will be a major event for us and for others. If you remember, at first our proposal was almost made a laughing-stock by some people: How can the Russians think of such a thing, with their ideas on human rights? Now this is a joint decision by the 35 countries that signed the Helsinki Final Act. But of course, we must work to ensure we do not let ourselves down.

[Burlatskiy] The other day a session of the "East and West for Human Rights" conference council ended here, having been held with the support of the Soviet Committee for European Security and International Cooperation and the Soviet Peace Foundation. Taking part were major public figures from socialist and capitalist countries, including former French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing and our movement's cochairman Rosalynn Carter. The participants came out unanimously in favor of our movement forming an important part of the preparations for the Moscow Conference on Humanitarian Cooperation in 1991.

Official Says Third World Needs Freedom of Choice

PM2601103389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
18 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Doctor of Historical Sciences N. Simoniya, deputy director of the World Economics and International Relations Institute: "UN Speech: Boost for Quest and Action. Principle of Freedom of Choice"]

[Text] Freedom of choice is one of the key universal principles of the existence and even survival of the world community in today's multifaceted and increasingly interconnected world.

Mankind has taken too long to realize that a people who oppress other peoples cannot be free. By no means everyone is truly aware of this even today. Neocolonialists are often unable to renounce the mentality and ideas that prevailed during the colonial empires.

However, we are now living in a crucial period in mankind's development and in this connection observance of the principle of freedom of choice is assuming exceptional importance. A combination of two important factors prompts this conclusion. On the one hand, the world community and the contradictions rending it have become exceptionally complex. Over the recent period this community has been swelled by dozens of young sovereign states with their special interests and aspirations. On the other hand, an extremely negative byproduct of the scientific and technical revolution has been the emergence and accumulation on a terrifying scale of nuclear weapons of unprecedented destructive force, which have called mankind's very existence into question. This has made the solution of major international contradictions by traditional means, above all war, virtually impossible. Under these conditions freedom of choice has changed from being merely a desirable and progressive principle in international relations to an imperative. It is no coincidence therefore that the principle of freedom of choice holds a key place in the system of views on the further development of world events expounded in M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech at the beginning of December 1988.

This speech particularly stressed the "binding nature of the principle of freedom of choice" since "failure to recognize this principle is fraught with the gravest consequences for world peace." "To deny the peoples this right, whatever the pretext or the words used as camouflage, is to infringe even the unstable equilibrium that has been achieved. Freedom of choice is a universal principle and there must be no exceptions to it."

Even if we don't travel back into the depths of time and only look at the immediate postwar decades, we must note regretfully that the world community has inherited a dubious tradition of systematic violations of the principle of freedom of choice. The exclusively imperialist stereotype of the old thinking dominated the world: to be strong is to be superior to others and capable of imposing your will. Thus relations within the framework of the world community assumed an unjust and antidemocratic character, although all such actions were invariably carried out under the banner of defending democracy.

I would note that violations of the principle of freedom of choice occurred not only, for instance, when national liberation movements were suppressed but also when attempts were made to implement diversity of social development within the framework of a homogeneous formation. For instance, the West (especially the United States) tried during the 1950's-1960's to squeeze all the developing countries into the procrustean bed of the

Westernization model. So even indisputably capitalist developing nonaligned countries (India, Indonesia, and so on) were regarded as "amoral" and potentially hostile to the West.

It would clearly be unobjective to omit to mention the fact that in our country Stalin was able before his death to establish a tradition of dogmatic ideological puritanism regarding any deviations from our own model of social development as a deviation from the "basic principles" of Marxism-Leninism.

Nonetheless, notwithstanding the universality of the principle of freedom of choice, this principle may be said to be particularly burning and topical for developing countries. This is no coincidence. The point is that we are dealing here with a specific subgroup of countries in the world community which have for historical reasons lagged considerably behind in their social development. The whole course of world development is rapidly involving these countries today in the processes of internationalization and integration into the world community. But at the same time they are still transitional societies and their social and economic structures are not marked by organic integrity and homogeneity. On the one hand, remnants of traditional and semitraditional relations, and on the other, substantial layers of residual colonial or neocolonial structures coexist alongside the nucleus of modern national structures. As a result of this situation, developing countries find themselves simultaneously at several historical stages, as it were. On the one hand, having become politically sovereign, they have begun to integrate into the modern world community, while on the other, they are experiencing processes of internal national state consolidation and are in many respects solving the problems of previous historical eras.

It is quite clear that notwithstanding all the commonality of contemporary historical tasks, each of these countries has its own "individual character": a special set of concrete historical conditions, special aims for each given stage of development, and its own methods and means of achieving these aims. It is also clear that freedom to choose these aims and these resources is an urgent requirement of developing societies. And the resolution of the tasks facing these countries will be accompanied by social tensions, structural crises, class struggle, and revolutions and counterrevolutions.

History cannot be halted. Consequently, the problem facing the world community in this connection consists not in imposing any status quo on developing countries or in "freezing" the social and national processes that are forging ahead there with objective inevitability, but in ensuring that: a) these processes are not permitted to enter into the fabric of global rivalry between the two systems and thus become detonators of world cataclysms and possibly a universal apocalypse, and b) an international backdrop is created that alleviates crises in the zone of developing countries as far as possible and helps to resolve internal and regional conflicts more rapidly and less painfully and to curb the arms race.

However, all postwar history attests to a desire to interfere in the process of the developing countries' exercise of the principle of freedom of choice. The purely internal struggle of class and political forces in these countries was often regarded from the viewpoint of the correlation of forces between the two systems. The choice of a particular orientation was only regarded in the context of a "win" for one side and therefore a "loss" for the other. Every time a new regime (or regimes) emerged with a new orientation, it was concluded that the correlation of forces between the two systems would change, although there might be no real change in the correlation of their economic and military-political forces. In short, the zone of developing countries turned into a field for battle and rivalry and these countries became the target of interference aimed at influencing the results of their choice of path of development. As long as the West regards the "Third World" as a sphere of influence where it has been accustomed to throw its weight around for centuries, hotbeds of tension will continue to exist. Resistance to imperialism will grow stronger and this will lead to the emergence of new "trouble spots."

Clearly, it is now time to realize that states, like individuals, act in historical conditions, that is, conditions created by previous development, and this fact of the world (including the developing world) must be perceived as such, not ignored. There should be no attempt to tailor it to your own ideas of "justice" and "correctness." In his speech M.S. Gorbachev noted in this connection: "The affirmation of the multifaceted nature of the world invalidates attempts to look down on those around you and teach them 'your own' kind of democracy. Not to mention that the 'export models' of democratic values are often very rapidly devalued."

Any freedom at all times has been relative. The principle of freedom of choice by no means signifies unrestricted freedom of action. Marxism has always proceeded on the premise that freedom is a conscious need. To rephrase Lenin's well-known words, it can be said that it is impossible to live within the world community and be free of it. So freedom does not signify the arbitrary extension of one's own internal choice to the sphere of interstate relations. However, there are many instances in the history of liberation movements where the rulers of a particular country have laid claim to a certain regional or even larger-scale universality for their ideology and their political system. Various kinds of pan-African, pan-Arab, and pan-Islamic trends and so on arose and both revolutionary and extremely conservative political forces might be behind these. It is well-known, for instance, what complexities have been caused in the Near East region in recent years by the desire to spread the idea of the Shi'ite "Islamic revolution." Everyone also remembers the Chinese Maoist movement's desire in the recent past to extend its influence in

many countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We also went through a period of illusions and attempts to present one political form of the revolutionary process—socialist orientation—as almost a universal model for the transition to socialism in the countries of the three continents.

Indeed, the entire history of mankind from the ancient past to the present day provides us with examples of successful and unsuccessful attempts on the part of various religious and political trends to conquer the minds and hearts of the largest possible number of followers throughout the world, resorting to the aid of the cross, the sword, and ideological propaganda for this purpose. But this is where the era in which we all live is fundamentally different: It is now impossible—objectively impossible!—to be guided by these old stereotypes in thinking and behavior. Freedom of choice, including freedom of choice of action in the international arena, is not an isolated self-sufficient principle in the human community. Ultimately, it is every people's free choice of their path and fate that will lead in the course of subsequent development to a resolution of the historical dispute between the two systems. But this dispute cannot be resolved by another world war, and the artificial encouragement of an accelerated solution of this dispute within the framework of interstate relations is fraught with precisely such a catastrophe. There can be no doubt of this today.

Thus, the dialectical chain must operate as follows: Every people's freedom of choice is the condition of their freedom as the subject of interstate relations, but this freedom can only be exercised provided the balance of interests is taken into consideration, that is, the principle of the equality and sovereignty of all members of the world community is strictly observed. It is this that gives rise to the need to restructure interstate relations in the spirit of democratizing them as much as possible. That is the command of the time.

Cooperation Program With UN's Habitat Signed

LD2101124389 Moscow TASS in English 1220 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Nairobi January 21 TASS—The Soviet Union and the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) signed a three-year programme for cooperation at the Habitat Headquarters here.

Besides, Habitat Executive Director and U.N. Deputy Secretary General Arcot Ramachandran and head of the delegation from the USSR State Committee for Architecture O. Koshkin signed a draft document for cooperation between the Soviet Union, Habitat and India.

The sides emphasised the importance of the joint documents as laying a firm foundation for future cooperation in the development of human settlements.

The Soviet Union in the nearest future will start implementing a number of projects.

The three-year programme also provides for exchanges of experience in construction and architecture. The Soviet Union will host three habitat seminars. One of them, to be held in Tashkent, will consider issues related to earthquake-proof construction.

Suzdal will host a meeting on the protection of historical monuments and structures.

The programme includes a Habitat-USSR-Tanzania project under which an architectural institute in Tanzania will be made into a pan-African centre for upgrading skills in the field of construction and development of human settlements.

The project's implementation will be of great practical importance for Africa which sees a fast population growth and chronic housing shortages.

European Ecumenical Youth Meet in Estonia

LD2401021789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1855 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Tallin, 23 Jan (TASS)—A program for cooperation between young clergymen from various countries was discussed at a meeting of representatives of the Ecumenical Youth Council in Europe [EYCE] that was held in Soviet Estonia's capital. It was attended by young men and women from 17 European states. The meeting was organized by the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church, which is member of this prestigious international organization.

In a conversation with a TASS correspondent, Karlfried Menzler, EYCE chairman, noted "the enthusiasm of Soviet youth." Young men and women, he noted, "are full of confidence in their future, something that one encounters only rarely among their counterparts in Western Europe."

Karlfried Menzler said an EYCE conference will be held in May in Switzerland. Proceeding from the agreement reached at the meeting in Tallin, he said, a delegation of young clergymen from the USSR would take part in it too. Besides, we discussed seriously a possibility of organizing joint work camps for restoring historical monuments. It is not a coincidence that the development of all kinds of cooperation between young believers from socialist and capitalist countries is among the EYCE's priorities.

United States & Canada

U.S. Orders Its Diplomats To Leave Afghanistan

LD2701101989 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Summary] "The United States Secretary of State, James Baker, has ordered all American diplomats to leave Afghanistan. A spokesman of the State Department said the decision has been promoted by growing apprehension toward their safety. As Soviet troops pull out of Afghanistan, the armed opposition is stepping up its activity." The Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing that the opposition is trying to effect a blockade on Kabul.

Hearings To Confirm Defense Head Tower Reported

Soviets Still 'Serious Opponent'

LD2601120689 Moscow Tass International Service in Russian 0430 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Washington, 26 Jan (TASS)—TASS correspondent Nikolay Turkatenko reports: During the hearings which began on Wednesday in the Senate Armed Forces Committee to confirm John Tower as U.S. secretary of defense, committee chairman Senator Sam Nunn asked him to speak on a number of issues relating to policy in the sphere of Soviet-U.S. relations and arms control. The senator recalled the Soviet Union's unilateral decision to reduce its armed forces by 500,000 people, the continuing withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, of Cuban troops from Angola, and of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, the progress attained at the talks to reduce strategic weapons, and the accord reached on starting all-embracing talks to reduce conventional armed forces and weapons. "In the sphere of arms control", Nunn said, "new opportunities have opened up for strengthening the stability of the balance of forces between the East and West. New opportunities have also opened up for reaching accords in spheres such as removing the risk of sudden attack, nuclear tests, chemical weapons, and preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons."

"Responding to the masterly diplomacy of Mikhail Gorbachev," Nunn continued, "it is necessary to radically rethink NATO strategy in the sphere of military priorities, and also in the sphere of arms control."

The senator dwelt in particular on the problem of the U.S. Federal Budget, directly giving it to be understood that the Pentagon ought not to reckon on an increase in the military allocations envisaged by the draft budget for the fiscal year 1990, which was presented to Congress by the preceding administration. Tower expressed agreement with the fact that changes have occurred, and are occuring, in the world, which have to be taken into account in the elaboration of military policy. He recalled the INF Treaty concluded by the USSR and the United States, describing it as "an unprecedented success." On the whole, however, the comments of the candidate for the post of U.S. secretary of defense represented attempts to breathe new life into concepts, obsolete in the present-day world, such as 'politics from a position of strength,' 'the Soviet threat,' and so on. "The Soviet Union," Tower stated, "remains the most serious opponent," and for this reason it is necessary to continue to strengthen U.S. military potential and not to undertake any unilateral steps to reduce the armed forces of the United States and of NATO as a whole. At the same time, Tower stressed that in the light of the problem of the federal budget deficit, "it will be necessary to work within a certain framework." "The policy of the current administration," he said, "consists in undertaking a careful analysis, of clearly defining national priorities, of formulating a strategy aimed at achieving these goals, and military policy should then be brought into line with this strategy."

Joint 'Constructive' Effort Needed

LD2601234889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Washington—John Tower, who has been designated by President George Bush of the United States as secretary of defense, has in his address to the Senate Armed Services Committee acknowledged the great significance of the Soviet-American INF Treaty by calling the treaty signing an unprecedented success. At the same time, he reiterated many of the stereotypes from the cold war era, claiming that the alleged Soviet threat compels the United States to pursue a policy of acting from a position of strength. Tower stated that the Soviet Union allegedly remains the United States' most serious opponent.

Here is a news commentary, with Sergey Pravdin at the microphone.

[Pravdin] If one considers that Tower was speaking during the hearings to confirm him in the post of secretary of defense, his calls to continue increasing United States military potential, and not undertake any unilateral steps to reduce the armed forces and armaments, might be assessed as his wish to secure the backing of right-wing senators, in order to get appointed as head of the military department. But it is not only a matter of this. Of late statements about the need for a cautious attitude toward the Soviet Union and its peace initiatives have been made by a number of high-ranking officials in the new Washington administration. They include Secretary of State Baker and even the head of the White House himself, who has stressed that he needs time to work out his approach to the question of new Soviet-American talks on further armaments reductions, including reductions of strategic nuclear missiles. This standpoint also could be understood. It is not fortuitous that an old American proverb says that in order to take a step in the right direction it is sometimes useful to stand back a bit to get a better view and choose where to put one's foot.

Now, as THE WASHINGTON POST puts it, the agenda for the process to reduce armaments does not include only an agreement on banning the production of chemical weapons and destroying existing stockpiles of them. The newspaper thinks that a Soviet-American dialogue on a 50 percent reduction of strategic offensive armaments, or talks between the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO bloc on reducing conventional armaments in Europe, could be quite realistic, though very complex, due to the differences in the positions of the sides. The settlement of some regional conflicts, which has begun, requires additional effort.

Our country has, on all these issues, put forward precise and realistic proposals. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev spoke of them in his speech at the UN General Assembly session. The Soviet leader has repeatedly emphasized in his speeches that these problems cannot be transformed into a one-way street, the more so since very many Americans are in favor of the United States, for its part, also adopting a constructive position on all these issues. Thus a public opinion poll that has just been conducted by the LOS ANGELES TIMES, for instance, showed that 70 percent of those questioned approve of the Soviet peace initiatives, while over half of them consider that it would now be possible to put an end to the cold war. But this definitely requires constructive and honest efforts by both sides.

Soviet-U.S. Study Stresses Peaceful Coexistence

LD2601151189 Moscow TASS in English 1458 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—The results of a joint Soviet-U.S. study, "Window of Opportunity: From Cold War to Peaceful Competition and Cooperation in Soviet-U.S. Relations," were made public at a briefing for Soviet and foreign reporters here on Thursday.

They were presented by the project's co-chairmen—Georgiy Arbatov, director of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of the U.S. and Canada, and Graham Allison, dean from Harvard University's John Kennedy School of Government, as well as scientist William Ury from the same U.S. university.

The main finding of the study, conducted for six years by the Kennedy school and the Soviet academy, is that the overall concept of Soviet-American relations should presuppose co-existence in peaceful competition and increasing cooperation.

A joint statement read out at the briefing says that scientists see the turnpike of development for Soviet-U.S. relations in adjusting competition to check forces that carry the threat of war and in pooling efforts to reach common goals and further cooperation.

Agreement, institutions and procedures should be worked out to reduce the likelihood of competition leading to war, the statement goes on. It says that competition in the ideological sphere will be productive when facilitating more vigorous and creative attitudes by both sides.

The joint statement gives the lie to the widely shared view that improved relations have done away with the risk of outbreak of nuclear war.

The risk has indeed been reduced but ongoing changes and new opportunities have increased the range and power of factors beyond control, which can provoke unauthorised nuclear warfare.

An accident anywhere in the world can lead to a war that neither Moscow nor Washington have wanted to unleash, the statement warns.

It offers specific measures to ensure Soviet-American relations along the lines of co-existence, peaceful competition and cooperation.

The idea is to implement principles for the non-use of force and of threats to use force, while reducing and reshaping armed forces both as a unilateral initiative and under bilateral and multilateral agreements.

It is also essential to continue consultations for settling regional conflicts, to broaden the functions of nuclear risk reduction centres, and draw up further agreements patterned on the one on incidents on the high seas, in keeping with which representatives of the navies of the two countries regularly meet to discuss ways of avoiding dangerous incidents.

Besides, the statement urges further measures to build confidence in order to increase transparency and establish trip-wires that would have to be triggered in preparation for war.

The joint document stresses the need to condemn terrorism in general and promote active cooperation to develop effective ways to avert international terrorism of every kind, including the training of terrorists.

The statement also suggests more active cooperation to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, ballistic missile technology, chemical and biological warfare agents, and other weapons of mass annihilation.

Ambassador Matlock Briefs Soviet Journalists

LD2601183489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1740 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jan (TASS)—Vadim Biryukov, TASS diplomatic correspondent, reports:

Will the first experience mark the start of a tradition? There were grounds for this question from the Soviet journalists who came today to Spaso House—the residence of the U.S. ambassador in the Soviet Union. Up to this point Ambassador John F. Matlock and his predecessors had conducted regular briefings for Western journalists only. Representatives of the Soviet media were invited extremely rarely.

In a brief introduction, Jack F. Matlock said that the administration of President George Bush has adopted a course for developing Soviet-American relations, evidence of which was, among other things, the fact that a telephone call to General Secretary Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was one of the first steps taken by the President in his new post. This clearly stemmed from a desire to continue the policy of seeking the normalization of relations between the USSR and United States, said the ambassador. And here the U.S. Embassy has decided not to lag behind the spirit or the times, and is conducting an experimental briefing, the purpose of which is not to give news, but to give an interpretation of news.

Afterward, Jack F. Matlock, for 1 hour and 20 minutes and in enviably good Russian, answered questions from Soviet journalists and set out the position of his government. The polite guests listened to the ambassador with interest, although in a number of cases his assessments did not, of course, coincide with their viewpoint.

"The briefing for Soviet journalists provides evidence not only of the improvement in relations between the USSR and the United States," said Rafail Moseyev, secretary of the board of the USSR Union of Journalists, "but it also shows that the U.S. side responds to the processes of restructuring and glasnost which are under way in our country." A majority of the Soviet participants in the briefing expressed a view that similar exchanges of views were useful and that it came within the channel of developing the Soviet-U.S. dialogue. Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Information Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who was telephoned after the briefing by the TASS diplomatic correspondent, said: "An American briefing for Soviet journalists? It is a good thing, especially if it helps to establish greater understanding between the USSR and the United States. After all, up to now, the U.S. Embassy in Moscow has not exactly favored the Soviet representatives of the media."

U.S. Public Diplomacy Experts Assess Glasnost

PM2601152589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Jan 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "The West and Glasnost. The Opinion of U.S. Experts"]

[Text] Washington, 25 Jan—There has been an extensive and favorable worldwide response to the glasnost policy in the USSR and to the Soviet foreign policy initiatives. This admission is contained in the annual report by the Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy which has been presented to the President, Congress, the secretary of state, and the director of the USIA. This independent, bipartisan commission was set up by Congress to monitor the activity of the USIA, which propagandizes U.S. policy abroad, a practice known as "public diplomacy" in Washington political jargon.

"Glasnost, to all appearances, is having a profound influence on attitudes in Western Europe, the United States, and other regions," the report notes, in particular. "Public opinion polls show that West Europeans are optimistic, although in varying degrees, about peaceful relations with the USSR and the positive influence of glasnost. On certain issues many people now support the Soviet leader more than the U.S. President. It is clear to the commission that the Soviet Union is doing more and more in the public diplomacy sphere. And this can expected to continue."

"Glasnost and the increased expertise of the Soviet media make the struggle for trust and political sympathy more difficult," the Advisory Commission states. "Soviet leader Gorbachev's skill in handling the press, and the considerable improvement in Soviet information activity, demand that the United States treat public diplomacy as a strategically important component of U.S. foreign policy," Commission Chairman Edwin Feulner said in connection with the presentation of the report.

'Surmountable' Obstacles to U.S. Trade Discussed

PM2701103189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
24 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Shalnev dispatch under the rubric "Events: Substance and Opinions": "For the Edification of the Administration"]

[Excerpts] New York—[passage omitted] The conference "On Peace Through Trade, Investment, and Development," which was held for 2 days at the UN headquarters on East River, clearly showed that the U.S. business world wants to trade with us and wants to have an intensive economic relationship with us. [passage omitted]

We constituted a solid delegation—solid not only in the sense of the high rank and responsibility of the positions held by our delegates, but also by virtue of the thoroughness of the reports they submitted. The American side was also well represented—presidents and vice-presidents of major companies and authoritative people from academic circles. The in-depth discussion of all the issues adhered strictly to the point.

The crux of the matter is this: There are a considerable number of obstacles standing in the way of our business relationship, but they are largely surmountable. From our viewpoint, the main obstacles are political barriers, such as the Jackson-Vanik amendment, which denies us

the status of most-favored trading partner, the COCOM lists, which block supplies of modern technology to us, legislative restrictions on credit, and so forth and so on.

From the U.S. viewpoint, the problems are the inconvertibility of the ruble and the backwardness of our "business infrastructure"—where a fax machine in the office is an extreme rarity and the telephone communications network is unreliable. Other impediments include low labor productivity at our enterprises and the limited number of goods that we could trade with America. Also standing in the way, as one of the biggest American consultants pointed out, is a problem that never existed before: The decentralization of the Soviet economy has "created a whole class of independently minded and independently acting business people who have absolutely no notion of the rudiments of the business world and who do not even have a clear idea of the principles of economic accountability."

The consultant is right, although it is quite clear that the problem of economic education is solvable. I think he also had an ulterior motive in saying this: To make our businessmen realize that it is extremely difficult to penetrate the American market without the qualified assistance of...American specialists. This implication also came across clearly in several other speeches.

This is how Peter Hannaford, head of one of the most prestigious "public relations" firms in America—or, in other words, intermediary firms—described the process of penetrating the U.S. market: "First you must research the demand for the product in question, then establish whether this product is subject to legislation relating to environmental protection. You must also establish whether attempts to export this product will lead to demands for protectionist measures from American companies, and for this you need people who know all the ins and outs on Capitol Hill, members of executive government institutions, and so forth. Then you will need a reliable import agent who is willing and able to create an effective network for the distribution of your product. Advertising is extremely important. Here you will have to rely on an American company with a reputation for creativity. You will also need publicity—interviews with the press, photographs, and television appearances. You can't do without a PR specialist who can train your businessmen how to conduct themselves when giving interviews."

Another American participant in the conference, a representative of a large firm of consultants, enumerated a different series of factors to be borne in mind by our business people when trying to penetrate the American market. These factors include: the multitiered taxation system—in addition to federal taxes, there are also state taxes and local taxes, as well as antitrust legislation; regulations designed to ensure worker safety; and laws regulating payments into the workers' social fund.

I must point out that neither of these people have exaggerated the problems and difficulties: Everything is exactly as they have described. When I asked one of the consultants whether he would not frighten off our businessmen with the list of difficulties, he replied: They are not a problem—it is really very easy to do business in America. You just have to know how to go about it.

And the problems and questions with which our side came to the conference? Are they solvable? To quote Yu. Chumakov, deputy minister of foreign economic relations and head of the Soviet delegation, how long will the situation remain where the United States is essentially the only partner in the world with whom we have so many unresolved problems, and where the Soviet Union can in no way be satisfied with the state of Soviet-American trade—either in level, structure, or balance?

I do not think the conference will go unremarked in Washington. The voice of the American business world, heard inspiringly in the UN skyscraper—"We want to do business with Russia"—will not go unheeded.

There is a possibility that another such conference will be held in a year's time. In Moscow. Then we will sum up the results of what happened this week in New York.

Soviet-U.S. Antiterrorism Meeting Held in Moscow

LD2601141489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0839 GMT 26 Jan 89

[By Yevgeniy Babenko, TASS political observer]

[Excerpts] [no dateline as received] [passage omitted] "Soviet-U.S. reply to international terrorism"—a bilateral meeting under such a heading would be difficult to imagine 2 or 3 years ago. It has now become a reality—and behind the large square table in the conference hall of the Soviet Peace Defenders Committee in Moscow, historians, lawyers, economists, and political scientists from the two countries are examining complex problems in the fight against one of the world's most apparent manifestations of evil. [passage omitted] What are the main topics on the agenda? Exchanges of information; exchanges of means in the fight against terrorists—for example, means of detection of terrorist organizations' military storage places; cooperation in the investigation of specific cases—for example, the problems of hostages in Lebanon; dissemination of proof and knowledge about terrorism; cooperation in the sphere of restriction of international trade with various types of weapons; and cooperation in monitoring the distribution of narcotics. And this is far from the full list of topics. [passage omitted]

The general impression of the speeches made by participants in this forum—delivered at plenary sessions and in three commissions—is that there is good will from both sides. It is obvious that there is a great wish to cooperate in this complex matter of the fight against international terrorism and its many forms. It has to be said that the views of participants in the Moscow meeting regarding the

sources and causes of this phenomenon are different, sometimes even contradictory—but at the same time a view that cooperation is possible. [passage omitted]

Results of the meeting are still to be assessed, but it is already obvious that the first step is being taken, that a new aspect in the complex of Soviet-U.S. relations is being opened.

China

Shevardnadze Official Visit To PRC 2-4 February

LD2601172189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jan (TASS)—It has been announced here today that Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, will pay an official visit to the PRC from 2-4 February.

During the visit the ministers of foreign affairs of the two countries will continue the talks on preparing for the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting, which began in Moscow, and will also exchange views on other issues of mutual interest. Discussions between Eduard Shevardnadze and Chinese leaders will take place.

Summit Marks 'New Stage' in Sino-Soviet Ties

PM2601163589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Li Shenzhi, vice president of the PRC Academy of Social Sciences, by own correspondent Yu. Savenkov in Beijing under the heading "'Sell the Sword and Buy Oxen....'"; date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Savenkov] The idea of the need for trilateral and multilateral cooperation on a mutually advantageous basis is often voiced in China. Naturally, this has nothing in common with the propensity for political geometry from which the old strategy suffered: namely, that improvement in relations between two of the parties promised advantage for the third, and so forth.

[Shenzhi] First of all, I would like to talk about that "geometry." I think the time is coming when the "card game" (someone plays the "China" card, someone else plays the "Soviet" card, and some prefer "stalemate") must become a thing of the past. An improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations, say, must under no circumstances lead to a deterioration in Sino-U.S. relations. A new kind of wisdom is needed: All countries must develop in the same direction and combine their efforts rather than pull in different directions. But I would like to draw particular attention to Soviet-U.S. relations. They have the greatest impact on peace.

[Savenkov] In this connection, what is your opinion of present Soviet-Chinese relations?

[Shenzhi] They are on the eve of normalization—you could say, of course, that these relations have already entered the process of normalization. But I would like to give you my own opinion: When Deng Xiaoping meets M. Gorbachev, it will be a new stage, without any doubt. I am also thinking of you journalists in this respect (Li Shenzhi laughed). After all, you need striking events and new colors. So if we say that the new stage has already begun, you will find it difficult when this historic meeting actually takes place.

Similarity of PRC Restructuring Approach Noted

LD2601160989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Here is a report from Beijing. As you know, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China are now tackling similar tasks of renewing socialism. Albert Papayan will now tell us about this.

[Papayan] The similarity of problems opens up a broad field for interaction, not just in the economic, but in the political sphere as well. All the more so as an increasing commonality is now being revealed in the approaches of the Soviet Union and China to the problems of restructuring international relations on the path to unblocking conflict situations in different regions, and on the principles of partnership and dialogue. This subject is dealt with in an analytical article published in the second issue of the journal [name indistinct], which has just come out, and which is devoted to the foreign political initiative made in December by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech at the UN General Assembly session. The article does justice to the peaceable foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and stresses that the reduction of troops by 500,000 and the significant reduction of armaments is yet another major and important step taken by the Soviet side following the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles.

In Beijing, as in Moscow, people are well aware that in world politics much depends on the two largest socialist states. The greater the mutual understandng between them, the more reliable the path from confrontation to dialogue in our still turbulent world. This idea has often been expressed by Chinese leaders, and it is constantly reflected on the pages of the Chinese press.

China is awaiting now with interest the first official visit for many years by the head of the Soviet foreign political department, on which definite hopes for a further improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations are pinned.

Data Show Expansion in PRC Foreign Trade Ties

PM2601145789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jan 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Foreign Trade Ties Expanding"]

[Text] Beijing, 23 Jan—Chinese foreign trade turnover last year came to $79.4 billion, 16.6 percent up from 1987. Exports reached $40.1 billion, while imports registered $39.3 billion, having increased by 15.5 and 17.7

percent respectively. This was stated by Liu Xiangdong, representative of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Trade, at a news conference held here for Chinese and foreign journalists.

China now maintains trading and economic ties with more than 180 countries and regions of the world. Its main trading partners are Hong Kong and Macao, whose turnover amounted to 23.6 percent of the overall foreign trade volume. These are followed by Japan (15.9 percent), Common Market countries (10.8 percent), and the United States (9 percent).

Trade and economic ties between the USSR and the PRC are also developing as relations between the two countries continue to improve. In 1986-1988 the mean annual volume of trade between them amounted to roughly $2.3 billion. Both countries feel the need to further expand cooperation in this sphere. There is considerable potential here. China's overall foreign trade turnover with the USSR and East European countries rose by 19.2 percent, and amounted to 6.1 percent of all trade.

Sino-Soviet Fishery Talks Held in Beijing

OW2701090589 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] The Sino-Soviet Fishery Cooperation Committee held its first meeting from 20-26 January in Beijing. The two sides signed a fishery cooperation agreement last October in Moscow. At this first meeting in Beijing, the two sides discussed a number of issues concerning scientific, technological, and economic cooperation in fisheries. They also formulated the work priorities from 1988 [as heard] to 1995 and devised a cooperative plan for this year. The two sides agreed that the next meeting of the commission will be held in Moscow in 1990.

Northeast Asia

ROK Consulate Could Soon Be Opened in Nakhodka

SK2701083989 Seoul CHUNGANG ILBO in Korean 26 Jan 89 p 1

[By correspondent Choe Chol-chu]

[Text] Khabarovsk—Morozov (doctor of economics), vice chairman of the Khabarovsk regional party committee, who is in charge of economic development and the open door policy in the Far East, stated in an interview with CHUNGANG ILBO on 25 January that, if progress is made in South Korean relations of economic cooperation with the Far East, a South Korean consulate could be established soon in Nakhodka, and that there are absolutely no problems in opening airline service between Seoul and Khabarovsk and sea transport service between Pusan and Nakhodka for South Korean businessmen and tourists.

He said that for the group of South Korean businessmen which will visit the Soviet Union he would directly explain the situation of the Far East economic region and the areas in which investment prospects are bright. He said that about 60 businessmen of the Soviet Far East would be sent to Seoul in March or April to hold business talks with the South Korea side for the purpose of inviting investment.

As the vice chairman of the party committee of the Khabarovsk region which, as a center of politics, economy, and transportation, encompasses a vast area—one fourth of the entire Soviet territory—and as the man in charge of the open door development policy of the region, Mr Morozov made it clear that South Korean industries would face no restrictions whatsoever for using South Korean labor forces in operating joint-venture companies in the Far East.

He strongly hoped that the South Korean industries would participate in the timber processing, pulp, and furniture industries; in manufacturing generators, small motors, and construction equipment; in the production of color television receivers, video tape recorders, and personal computers; in the food processing industry; in replacing the facilities of existing plants; in the offshore fisheries; in agriculture; and in the mining industry. He said that the conditions for joint ventures with South Korean industries, which would participate in those sectors, would be very flexibily readjusted to the interests of the two countries.

With regard to the report on the letters exchanged between South Korean President No Tae-u and General Secretary Gorbachev for the improvement of ROK-USSR relations, he said that he was aware of information about it.

Increased Japanese Military Spending Criticized

PM0101150389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by TASS observer A. Biryukov under the rubric "Pertinent Notes": "Not in the Spirit of the Times"]

[Text] The Japanese Government has approved the draft for military expenditure for fiscal 1989, which begins 1 April, for the sum of 3.9 trillion yen. That is 5.9 percent more than in the previous year, and corresponds to 1.006 percent of Japan's GNP. As a result, Tokyo notes, appropriations for this purpose are, for the third year in a row, exceeding the framework of its restriction to 1 percent of the country's GNP —a limitation which the government has honored for the 10 years since 1976.

Tokyo is thus increasing the country's military expenditure to another, higher, level. And please note that this is happening at a time when, after the USSR's well-known unilateral steps to reduce its armed forces and arms, including those in its Eastern region, Tokyo has started talking about "the impossibility of further ignoring"

these actions on the part of its Northern neighbor. You cannot help asking: Why has Tokyo nonetheless considered it possible not only to ignore these steps of the USSR, but also to "reply" to them with a new buildup of its military expenditure?

It seems that this time, too, the inertia in the thinking of influential circles, graphically expressed in the "White Book" on questions of Japan's defense for 1989, has had an effect. The thrust of this document, let us recall, came down to the same old obsession with the mythical "Soviet military threat" to Japan, which has been used all these years to justify the growth of military expenditure in that country, and to claims of the alleged "buildup" of the Soviet Armed Forces in the Far East. It is as though the implementation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, not only in Europe but also in Asia, and which the USSR undertook with a particular consideration for Japan's anxiety, was no longer in force. It is as though there were no Soviet proposals on no further stationing of nuclear weapons in this region awaiting a reply, nor any on freezing and proportionally reducing the ceilings of naval and air forces in regions adjacent to the USSR, China, Japan, and the Korean peninsula. It is as though there had been no proposal from the Soviet Union to sit down at the conference table and discuss claims regarding the "Soviet buildup" in order to finally investigate everything and put an end to this myth.

Right now, the newspaper ASAHI writes in an editorial article, new winds are beginning to blow in the world. The antagonism between the United States and the USSR has weakened, many states are restraining the buildup of military expenditure, and some countries have decided to embark on a reduction of their armed forces (among them the newspaper names the Soviet Union, China, and the DPRK). "If we turn away from these changes and continue to build up armaments," it points out, "this could lead to a stupid and anachronistic mistake. Japan, in terms of its defense expenditure, has already reached a level where it can perfectly well be regarded as a major military power.... Who or what is there for it to defend itself against, and who or what is it to defend, and how? Has the time not come to think about this question?..."

The opinions of this newspaper, which reflect the opinions of the broad Japanese public, are full of common sense. They are topical. It is time that its recommendations were heeded by those circles in Tokyo which are quite unable to stop thinking and acting within the framework of the confrontationist approaches characteristic of yesterday.

U.S. Space Tracking Center Could Embarrass Japan

PM0101151789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent S. Agafonov report: "Japan-United States: What Misawa's Web of Antennae Conceals"]

[Text] Tokyo—Among the U.S. military installations on Japanese territory, the Misawa air force base in Aomori Prefecture occupies a special place.

If for no other reason, this is because it is the second-largest U.S. Air Force base in Japan after Kadena, where two squadrons of F-16 strategic fighter bombers are deployed. But Misawa's main specialization is determined not by the flight parameters of the aircraft stationed there, but by a far more complex characteristic—the electronic potential which transforms this installation at the northern end of Honshu island into the most powerful electronic intelligence center in the entire Far East region.

Misawa's antenna web occupies the lion's share of the base territory, and the information gathered by the special services is rushed to the Pentagon by satellite link 24 hours a day, 365 days a year.

The Misawa landscape is a vast collection of direction-finding equipment and other communications facilities out under the open sky. Until recently the main sight here was the world's largest "elephant house"—a gigantic system of multiple horizontal and vertical antennae whose "ears" do not miss a single "event" on the air waves.

From now on, though, the "legislator of electronic fashion" at Misawa will be another installation, and the Japanese press is reporting the plans for its creation with ill-concealed alarm.

The issue concerns the siting at Misawa of a new space tracking center. The top secret installation will observe artificial satellites and missiles in "deep space." Work will be carried out there by a 70-man specialist subunit of the Pentagon's "space service," and construction of the complex will begin next April, ending in the early nineties. This spy on space is the U.S. military department's latest toy. According to existing information it is planned to station three centers of this kind across the globe—in addition to the Japanese center, there will be others in Britain and on the eastern seaboard of the United States itself.

All this information found its way into the Japanese press from a none-too-authoritative but undoubtedly reliable source—the newspaper NORTHERN LIGHT, a limited-edition newspaper published at Misawa itself for U.S. military servicemen. The publication also noted that the new space complex will employ two very large antennae 18 meters in diameter and 30 meters high, a small antenna for independent satellite communication with the Pentagon's strategic center, where the information gathered will be sent, optical sensors, and other equipment.

The KYODO news agency, in a detailed account of all these aspects, carries another quote from NORTHERN LIGHT which sheds light on the facts behind the Misawa construction project—the space complex is part of an infrastructure which is being created within the strategic defensive initiative (SDI) concept.

That abbreviation is so well known that it needs no further commentary—that, of course, may explain the almost total silence of Japanese experts, who usually respond immediately to information of this kind. But the explanation seems to lie elsewhere. Had there been a preliminary Japanese-U.S. accord on the construction of SDI facilities in Japan, the arguments supporting this venture would have been prepared in advance by both sides.

In this instance, the leak by the base newspaper has placed a huge question mark over the complex of military links between the partners, because the Misawa space center is not part of any of the existing areas of cooperation in the security sphere, and directly contradicts the principle of the peaceful use of space to which Japan adheres. You get the impression that the Americans were playing a solo hand at Misawa, did not consult with their friends, and did not find the time to inform them of their plans.

If such an arrangement did take place and it comes to light sooner or later, it will be far more difficult for official Tokyo, because it will have to explain why a question affecting national policy was resolved behind closed doors, without taking public feelings into account.

USSR-Mongolian Border Verification Group Meets

PM2601141189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 23 January I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, received Major General Dzh. Dashdabaa, chairman of the Mongolian section of the Soviet-Mongolian joint commission on verification of the state border between the USSR and Mongolia, and other members of the Mongolian delegation, who are in Moscow to take part in a routine session of the commission.

On the same day I.A. Rogachev met with S. Solarz, chairman of the U.S. House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, at the latter's request.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Supreme Soviet Group Returns From Philippines

Growing Interest in Expanded Ties

HK2601063989 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] The Supreme Soviet delegation returned to Moscow from an official visit to the Philippines. Our reporter from Southeast Asia (Victor Kononov) interviewed Valentina Tereshkova, delegation head and Supreme Soviet presidium member. He asked the Soviet parliamentarians how they value their Philippine visit. The reply was:

The Supreme Soviet delegation had amicable and significant meetings in the Republic of the Philippines. We consider the development of parliamentary ties between the Soviet Union and the Philippines important because we believe that these relations are vital in the political talks between our countries. We had a conversation with President Corazon Aquino, who confirmed her imminent visit to the Soviet Union this year. This April, Foreign Affairs Secretary Raul Manglapus is due for a visit. Secretary of Science and Technology Antonio Arizabal is coming at the end of February, and Secretary of Trade and Industry Jose Concepcion will arrive in March.

These visits will open the opportunity to concretely discuss issues regarding expanding cooperation between our two countries. We had a jovial dialogue with members of the Philippine Senate and congressmen of the House of Representatives.

The Soviet delegation was received with hospitality and friendliness. We believe that on the part of the Philippines' parliamentarians and ministers, there is growing interest in expanding mutual benefit and cooperation.

Ties Will Exert Positive Influence

HK2701073389 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Our observer Alexander Vladimirov reported on the recent visit to the Philippines of the Supreme Soviet Presidium's delegation led by Valentina Tereshkova.

This visit gave way to expanding talks between the Soviet Union and the Philippines. It will be recalled that Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev went to Manila last year. It was followed by the visit of Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. These visits dwelt on the development of relations between the two countries.

The Philippine Government had the chance to receive direct information on restructuring and the Soviet Union's overall initiative regarding foreign policy. Both countries' positions on these issues were elucidated, and were regarded as the same. This could thus be a foundation for greater ties not only in the international sphere, but also for further cooperation between the two nations.

The Philippines is seriously considering expanding economic ties with the Soviet Union. This was expressed by Trade and Industry Secretary Jose Concepcion. The House Allocation Commission's vice chairman Felicito Payumo issued a statement regarding the establishment of a joint Soviet-Philippine commission which will be a permanent organ tasked to oversee economic and trade developments. The Senate's majority floor leader Orlando Mercado commented on the recent television documentary on the Soviet Union. He said it is time for the Philippines to expand ties with other countries, especially with governments whose ideologies are different.

Foreign Affairs Secretary Raul Manglapus recently announced that he will come to Moscow this March to prepare President Corazon Aquino's visit. Observers in Manila noted a positive approach by Philippine newspapers toward Soviet-Philippine ties. Many of the local dailies refused to publish anti-Soviet propaganda materials, which occasionally reach the media offices. There are, however, foreign media who wish to discredit Soviet-Philippine relations. They claim that the developments during the past years are results of Manila's efforts to brandish the Soviet card in anticipation of complicated negotiations with Washington on the bases' issue.

The current joint Soviet-Philippine communique, released after Eduard Shevardnadze's visit to Manila last year, proves that the mutual interests of the USSR and the Philippines are not the result of hurried considerations. They are the outcome of joint efforts contributing to the progress of normalization in the Asia-Pacific regio—and it has proven to be a long-time process. The two countries wish this region to be free from confrontation and nuclear weapons and become an arena for free and equal cooperation, and thet wish to achieve progress in mutual interests, without threatening ties with their traditional allies. In addition, several observers think that with this mutual understanding the Philippines will, in the near future, and as an active ASEAN member, positively influence the situation in Southeast Asia. Thus the participants in the recently-concluded ASEAN foreign ministers meeting have expressed their desire to encourage the Soviet Union and other superpowers to be more actively involved in finding a solution to the Cambodian problem. Even if this issue is still under discussion, it is clear that the Philippine-Soviet dialogue would be a basis for a positive and speedy solution to the Cambodian problem.

SRV, PRC Foreign Ministers Meet on Cambodia Issue

PM2001141089 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Consultations in Beijing"]

[Text] Beijing, 19 Jan—PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen met with SRV First Deputy Foreign Minister Dinh Nho Liem here today. Journalists were briefed on this by PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman Li Zhaoxing. The SRV first deputy foreign minister has come to the Chinese capital for private consultations on the political settlement of the Cambodian problem. On the Chinese side, Deputy Foreign Minister Liu Shuqing took part in the consultations.

Accord Reached on PRK Withdrawal

PM2601113789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Statement by Vietnamese Minister"]

[Text] Ho Chi Minh City, 21 Jan—Vietnam and China have agreed that a political solution must be found to the Cambodian problem. SRV Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach said this at a news conference here. Answering a question about the results of the talks between the two countries' deputy foreign ministers in Beijing, he emphasized that they had expressed a common opinion regarding the need to solve the international aspect of the problem. But the internal aspects of the settlement must be the responsibility of the Cambodian people themselves.

The minister indicated that the sides have reached an accord on the timetable for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from the PRK by September 1989, with the simultaneous termination of military aid to all Cambodian groupings. The two sides spoke in favor of creating an independent, neutral, nonaligned Cambodia.

Arkhipov Attends Lao Army Anniversary Events

PM2501142989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Jan 89 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "In Honor of Anniversary"]

[Text] A ceremonial meeting devoted to the 40th anniversary of the Lao People's Army was held at the M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army 19 January.

The meeting was opened by Lieutenant General G.A. Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

The report was delivered by Army General V.M. Arkhipov, USSR deputy defense minister and chief of the USSR Armed Forces Rear Services.

The meeting was addressed by Colonel Bunning Pkhommachan [name as transliterated], military, naval, and air attache at the Embassy of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] in the USSR. He pointed out that the development of fraternal friendship between our peoples and Armies serves the interests of the Lao and Soviet peoples.

On the same day Col B. Pkhommachan, military, naval, and air attache at the LPDR Embassy in the USSR, gave a reception to mark the 40th anniversary of the creation of the Lao People's Army.

The reception was attended by Army General V.M. Arkhipov, Lt Gen G.A. Stefanovskiy, and other generals, admirals, and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces.

The guests included military, naval, and air attaches at the embassies of a number of foreign states in the Soviet Union.

K. Sinakon [name as transliterated], LPDR charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, attended.

U.S. Builds Pacific Navy; USSR Shows 'Restraint'

OW2501234789 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 21 Jan 89

[From the "World Today" program]

[Text] Station observer Shahov comments on the U.S. Naval Force in the Pacific. He said: According to the data provided by Admiral [name indistinct], the Pentagon's Naval Force in the Pacific consists of 250 warships, 2,000 warplanes, and 275,000 officers and men. The backbone of this striking force is seven aircraft carriers. The U.S. Naval Force in the western Pacific consists of 50 warships, more than 1,200 warplanes, and about 150,000 officers and men. The United States has not only quantitatively increased its Naval Force in the Pacific, but also qualitatively improved it. The most glaring example of this is that it has enhanced the capability of its nuclear-powered missile submarines in this area. Its No 17 Battalion, which is based in [words indistinct], gets one or two new warships every year. Beginning at the end of 1989, the capability of its submarines in the Pacific will be further enhanced with the arming of [words indistinct] missiles. These missiles are twice as powerful as [words indistinct] missiles.

U.S. surface warships in the Pacific, which consist of aircraft carriers and [words indistinct] equipped with long-range Tomahawk missiles, are also a serious threat. The U.S. strategy of making use of its Naval Force in the Pacific is to continue to [words indistinct]. For example, in recent years it has actively expanded its Naval Force in the northern Pacific, particularly the Bering Sea, the Sea of Okhotsk, and the area east of Kamchatka.

More and more evidence in current international relations show that the cold war has begun to decline. However, in spite of this, the U.S. Navy is still very active. According to foreign press reports, the U.S. Navy is planning to hold a 2-month-long large-scale exercise, codenamed [words indistinct], in the Bering Sea, the Sea of Okhotsk, and other parts of the Pacific. Against this background, the Soviet Union's unilateral restraint becomes particularly prominent. The Soviet fleet in the Pacific conducts only exercises of a purely defensive nature. In recent years, it has only held exercises in the Sea of Okhotsk, the Sea of Japan, and in the waters off the coast of Kamchatka. It has never held any aggressive exercises designed to invade other countries' territories.

Near East & South Asia

Yazov Departs for Kabul Over 'Difficulties'

AU2701113489 Paris AFP in English 1126 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, Jan 27 (AFP)—Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov is in the Afghan capital Kabul on an official visit because of "difficulties" in Afghanistan, a Foreign Ministry official told AFP Friday.

Boris Sebastianov would not say when the Politburo member left and for how long he would stay in Afghanistan.

"You know there are difficulties there, and that is why the minister went there," he said. No further details were available.

The defence minister's sudden departure comes amid reports about a deteriorating military situation in Afghanistan as the Soviet Union completes its troop withdrawal, due to end by February 15 under Geneva accords.

Besmertnykh Receives Pakistani Ambassador

LD2701113789 Moscow TASS in English 1134 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 27 TASS—Aleksandr Besmertnykh, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR, received here today the Pakistani ambassador to the USSR Abdus Sattar.

The ensuing talk touched on questions of Soviet-Pakistani relations, on the further development of the dialogue between the two states.

Fighting Hampers Pullout From Afghanistan

PM2701114589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA correspondents B. Izgarshev and V. Okulov dispatch: "In the Salang Snows. PRAVDA Correspondents Report From Afghanistan"]

[Text] Kabul, 25 Jan—The complex, contradictory situation in Afghanistan these days has become even more acute. On the southern slope of the Salang pass Soviet subunits—ground and air—had to join battle. But the time is coming when not a single soldier of ours will be left on Afghan soil.

We picture Lieutenant Colonel A. Chesakov in a little room in a modular hut near the Qandahar airfield. Once again, as in August 1988, toward midnight he makes strong tea and uses a knife to open a can from the stock of rations. Then, in August, Chesakov and his comrades in the operations group of the Staff of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan had their fingers on the pulse of the exposed nerve of the withdrawal of Soviet units from Qandahar planned for the morning.

Today, like yesterday and, for that matter, tomorrow, Lt Col Chesakov together with his colleagues and chiefs is resolving and will resolve a transitory but extremely complex task: to mount an operation to supply General 'Ulumi's Afghan 2d Army Corps, which is blockaded by armed opposition detachments.

Are our boys back in Qandahar? Didn't this city "disappear" from Soviet army communiques back in the agonizingly hot August of last year?

Yes, it did disappear from our communiques. For a few months there was not a single Soviet soldier in the city. Now there are a little over 100 there: They are maintaining communications facilities and the air traffic control system and guarding the airfield. The nonstop airlift is in its 4th day. The airlift is from USSR territory and from the western Afghan airfield of Shindand. About 1,000 tonnes of freight have been delivered. Around three times as much has yet to be transported.

Qandahar is a compulsory theme in Afghan communiques. Heavy fighting continues there—in this sense the situation is stable.

The corps' main problem is the blockade. In order to get supplies to Qandahar now, as our Afghan friends have requested, it would have been necessary to mount a large-scale ground operation. This would have entailed losses—including, despite every effort, among the peaceful population. There were such plans, by the way. As far as we know, however, they met with categorical objections. Another decision was made: to organize an airlift without committing Soviet soldiers to battle.

The pilots of military transport aviation have borne the brunt of the operation. Probably only a pilot can understand what it is like to make night flights in a heavy aircraft loaded to the limit and to land without lights on board or landing lights on the Qandahar airstrip, scorched by rockets.

Lieutenant Colonel Viktor Tsaralov knows this perfectly; it is commonplace work for him. Tsaralov told us about Qandahar in the morning on the frosty runway of the airfield where the transport pilots are permanently based:

"We keep the engines running when we land. It takes a matter of minutes to unload. We take off and there is the explosion of a couple of dushman rockets somewhere nearby, on the starboard side...."

On that day at the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops headquarters, we were told the dushmans launched 47 rockets at the airfield. There were no casualties. Only an AN-26 air ambulance was damaged.

"It was harder for the first three AN-12's," the lieutenant colonel continued, "On 21 January they brought in Chesakov's group. There were no communications, traffic controllers, or weather information...."

This man, tired after work in Afghanistan, is now in his 17th month of service. In addition to the burden of the cargo on board, Tsaralov and his comrades have the burden of everyday problems: Many have difficulties with housing back in the USSR, and some have sick children and domestic problems.

There are no fearless supermen among those making night flights in the Afghan sky. Hence their mission is all the more significant and morally important, as they carry supplies to 'Ulumi's corps in their AN-12's. The moral burden of those who are calculating whether the Qandahar corps needs supplies at all or how much it needs in addition to what it already has is all the more responsible. For we shall make no secret of the fact that there is a view that 'Ulumi's corps has everything it needs to stand its ground and fight....

Let us note in passing with regard to those who are already disseminating over the airwaves the lie that the Soviet Union has breached the Geneva accords in this situation: They do not prohibit our soldiers in the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops from returning when necessary to places from which they have pulled out. This does not contravene the agreements. Is it proper for apologists who have not lifted a finger to fulfill the accords and are only wrecking their implementation to cast aspersions in this regard?

A blizzard of fighting has raged on the southern slope of the snow-blocked Salang. The convoys of the army rear services had already crossed the pass, gotten through without a single shot being fired, and were heading for Tashkurghan and Hayraton. The longed-for bridge "across the river" was already in sight, the bridge which in the spring and summer of last year seemed to be decked with flowers and where those of us Soviets who sat in the leading banner-bearing armored vehicle of troops leaving for home and those who were meeting them on the high bank near Termez had gazed at each other intently.

The Amu-Darya was close by. But the rear services were held up. The [Afghan] security posts and the gun emplacements along the Salang highway had joined battle.

Armed detachments of Ahmad Shah Masud's grouping reached the regions along the highway a long time ago. The Ahmad Shah's men have not carried out hostile actions recently against the Soviet security points and posts. But they have attacked Afghan transport convoys and made short work of the drivers. Western radio reported a few days ago that the mujahidin intend in the near future to take flour to the people of Kabul, who are experiencing difficulties with foodstuffs because of the blockade. Is it not the same flour they have plundered from state trucks on the highway? Masud's spies are penetrating state organs and bribing, demoralizing, and winning over officials and functionaries. They are preparing the ground for a power struggle in Kabul when the Soviet soldiers leave.

Senior representatives of the Limited Contingent of Soviet Troops command and of the Soviet Embassy in Afghanistan, by agreement with the Afghan Government, made contact with the Masud grouping and proposed that they visit it for talks, without making any preliminary conditions. Masud demanded to be told what questions might be discussed.

The questions were sent. But Ahmad Shah played for time and continued to operate on the sly. He was sent a proposal: Protect a large part of the highway, sign a protocol not to steal and not to shoot! The state authorities will supply you with everything necessary. If this is unacceptable—do not prevent the government troops from guarding the highway (at present it is being guarded by Soviet soldiers). The route between Kabul and Hayraton is not personal property but state property. The fate of the Afghan capital's inhabitants depends on how it functions....

The proposal was not accepted. It seems that as soon as the Soviet troops leave, Masud will try to seize the road in order to dictate terms to Kabul. There is no guarantee that he will not strike at our departing columns—the losses from a treacherous attack could be great.

At the beginning of January the authorities warned the local population of the need to leave the areas of possible combat operations. Some of the inhabitants did so. But only some of them. When the Afghan guard posts started to take control of the route, replacing our security posts, Ahmad Shah Masud's detachments fired on them.

Battles are beginning. The inhabitants of the surrounding villages, escaping the fire, reach the safety of the road and seek Soviet fighters' protection. Our command has allocated a special subunit, vehicles, clothing, foodstuffs, and medical supplies. The population is being transported to safe areas.

In battle one pays with his life. Just yesterday evening we learned of the heroic deed of Major Yurasov, a battalion chief of staff.

The voice of Hero of the Soviet Union Lieutenant Colonel Valeriy Vostrotin in the Salang area was scarcely audible through the static on the line at the Kabul headquarters. Vostrotin told how in the area of Qaleh-ye Tak village scouts in his regiment had surrounded the gang of the local ringleader, Karim. Major Anatoliy Tokarev was the negotiator: Hand over your weapons and leave!

The ringleader decided to take refuge among the peaceful inhabitants.

There was only one way out: Cut the gang off from the villagers. Major Oleg Aleksandrovich Yurasov headed upstream to cut across its path. Karim fired at him and the Afghan crowd on the bank. Yurasov shouted: "Lie down!"—and was himself struck down.

Terrible news will come from Kabul to snow-covered Kostroma. There the family of Major Yurasov, a Communist and holder of two Orders of the Red Star who had served 2 years in Afghanistan, was waiting for him—his wife Yelena Ivanovna, and his daughters Katya and Alla.

...Yes, unfortunately, our last units' departure from Afghanistan is being complicated by battles. We journalists are no strategists. We only hope that the tactical tasks do not prevent us from looking to the future of relations with our neighboring country.

Our boys have just a bit longer, a little bit longer in this hot land. The last battle is the most difficult....

Kabul Food Shortage 'Very Serious'

PM2601150189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by Yevg. Bay under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Afghanistan—Ilyushins Break Through Siege"]

[Text] Afghan rebels based in Pakistani territory have postponed from 1 February until 10 February the meeting at which it is planned to form a "provisional council," or "shura," according to a REUTER report. The delay is the result of differences between the leaders of the Peshawar "Alliance of Seven" and the mujahidin operating from Iranian territory. The leader of the latter, Muhammad Karim Khalili, is opposed to the formation of a "provisional council" after the Soviet troops leave Afghanistan and has described this initiative as "incomprehensible."

According to IRNA, Khalili said in Tehran that "no one can expect the consent of all mujahidin" to the formation of such a council. The proposal is a "hasty, incomprehensible initiative." He also said that "not all the Afghan resistance groups have been consulted on the question of this council, which it is planned to form in Pakistan at the beginning of February."

According to the Indian newspaper THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, the Pakistani Foreign Ministry and also the Pakistani Armed Forces intelligence service are actively involved in the consultations between the leaders of opposition groups. However, the newspaper points out, they too lack a common point of view on the composition of the future Afghan government.

According to BAKHTAR, the leaders of extremist formations based on Pakistani territory have announced the mass recruitment for army service of young men from the families of Afghan refugees who have been unable to return home because combat operations are in progress in the regions where they live. In many refugee camps there have been protest demonstrations against

this arbitrariness on the part of the extremists. There was a demonstration by refugees demanding to be allowed to return home at the Afghan border point of Towr Kham, which is in rebel hands.

Meanwhile, there are reports from Kabul that members of foreign diplomatic missions are continuing to leave the Afghan capital. According to channel one of West German television, ARD, all staffers of the FRG Embassy have left the city in connection with the worsening situation in Kabul, which does not mean, however, that diplomatic relations have been broken off. A spokesman for the British diplomatic mission called on all staffers of Western embassies and charitable and international organizations to leave Afghanistan. As a result of snowfalls and attacks by the armed opposition, the program's presenter said, the capital of the country is virtually under blockade. There are food and fuel shortages in the city. The Soviet Armed Forces, the ARD program reported, have taken it upon themselves to supply Kabul, and essentials are being ferried there by military transport aircraft.

The editorial office telephoned A. Oliynik, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent in Kabul, and asked him to give a more detailed account of the situation in the Afghan capital.

[Oliynik] The food situation is indeed very serious and there are still bread shortages. At the decision of the command of the Limited Soviet Troop Contingent, flour is being flown in by special IL-76 flights from Tashkent. Fourteen flights are expected to arrive today. Each will bring 500 sacks of flour, which is approximately 25 tonnes. For the city this is more than substantial assistance. What is more, our army stores are supplying the people of Kabul with flour and kerosene free of charge.

[IZVESTIYA] And how is the military situation?

[Oliynik] Bitter fighting with Ahmad Shah's gang resumed early in the morning of 23 January in the region of the Salang Pass. Just a few days ago, the highway linking Kabul to Hayraton, which is on the Soviet border, was opened, although traffic has been strictly "single file." A convoy of 120 vehicles carrying food arrived in the Afghan capital last week. Now, because of the fighting, the country's main highway is paralyzed again.

In Kabul itself, staffers of state security organs found mines laid at one of the busiest intersections. Several more mines have also been found in a cache in the suburbs. At the same time, the situation in the Afghan capital is calm on the whole. There are no signs of panic and, despite the enormous difficulties, the city is carrying on with life.

Afghan Prospects After Pullout Pondered

PM2601143589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS correspondent Yu. Tyasovskiy dispatch especially for IZVESTIYA under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Airlift Remains in Operation"]

[Text] Kabul—Now the thoughts of all Kabul's residents are turning to the weather. About a week ago, heavy snowfall and frost cut off the "lifeline highway" linking Afghanistan's capital with the city of Termez on Soviet territory. The raging elements and frequent avalanches in the spurs of the Hindu Kush created a tense situation in the Afghan capital and caused disruptions in food and fuel supplies.

Detachments of the armed opposition operating along the republic's main highway also tried to take advantage of the weather conditions. There were more frequent instances of trucks carrying food and other goods being captured and hijacked. Consequently, the city's 2 million residents failed to receive sufficient quantities of foodstuffs, kerosene, and oil.

In these circumstances, the Soviet leadership again came to Afghanistan's assistance. An airlift was organized, with IL-76 aircraft delivering large consignments of flour to Kabul. Only 5 days later, the problem of bread for the capital's residents had been solved. Nonetheless, deliveries of flour from the USSR are continuing in order to create the necessary stocks to enable the city to survive.

A legitimate question arises, however: What will happen in the future? For how long can 2 million people be fed via an airlift? Is there any certainty that, after the last Soviet soldier's departure, the Afghan Army will be able to ensure the defense of Salang Pass and the entire highway from Kabul to the Soviet border against attacks by oppositionists? And of course the paramount question: Will the Afghan Army be able to defend Kabul itself?

It can be taken as an axiom that a regular army with a combat-ready and trained nucleus is stronger than a disorganized and ill-assorted enemy united only by hatred for the democratic power. It should certainly be able to operate more successfully in the struggle for the city, even though it could suffer some defeats on the periphery, when defending the exceptionally extended lines of communication. But axioms lose their meaning in unpredictable Afghanistan; this is the nature of the country. One thing is certain: Kabul is vulnerable because of its geographical location, which is "inconvenient" from the supplies point of view. Many people believe that this is the main challenge facing the central government.

In his recent interview with BAKHTAR, E.A. Shevardnadze paid much attention to the problem of unity within the PDPA. Indeed, the serious blunders, setbacks,

and at times downright failures in party activity were due not only to the lack of necessary experience but also to contradictions within the party itself, to the fact that some of its functionaries acted not for the nation's benefit but in pursuit of purely personal interests. There are reasons to believe that today there is an awareness that such petty intrigues are fatal and useless because, in the prevailing conditions, victory can be achieved only when all fingers are tightly clenched in a fist. And the threat of bloody terror is rallying the party ranks.

On the other hand the Peshawar gang leaders, torn apart by acute contradictions, have recently become synonymous with political squabbling. Their totally selfish interests have surfaced precisely now, when the question of settling the situation in and around Afghanistan has been raised.

The districts controlled by the opposition today present a motley picture of "emirates" and enclaves headed by princelings who have established their ephemeral power there by force of arms. They are merely taking refuge beneath the banners of the various parties whose leaders are sitting things out in Peshawar or Tehran. Under no circumstances are they willing to surrender their power.

This is precisely why Afghanistan has become an arena of incessant bloody clashes, during which big predators swallow the small fry and trample the weaker underfoot. About 100 oppositionists were killed just in the last few days in battles between Sayyed Jagran's detachments and Shi'ite groupings in Ghazni Province, and between formations from the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan" (ISA) and the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan" (IPA) in Herat. In Herat ISA fighters captured more than 250 members of the IPA grouping. Chaos, destruction, and plunder reign in some of Afghanistan's eastern districts occupied by opposition forces, according to a recent WASHINGTON POST correspondent's report from Peshawar. Citing official spokesmen of the Pakistani Government, he reported that this situation has created a new wave of refugees crossing the Afghan-Pakistani border by thousands every day.

What an unsavory fate the rebels have in store for Afghanistan! A bloody struggle for power with hundreds of thousands of additional victims?

The main point is that an instrument for achieving accord in periods of most acute national crises has already been utilized in Afghanistan's history. This is a jirgah (council) which would be attended by representatives of all the opposing groups without exception in order to find a mutually acceptable solution via talks and compromise. What the Soviet Union and Afghanistan's government offered to the opposition fits precisely within the framework of national experience of overcoming contradictions.

Many sober-minded Afghans realize this. The TASS office just received a news report: A rally of local residents attended by clergy from the provincial center and a number of districts was held in Qandahar. Representatives of the provincial clergy declared that they deem it their duty to support the policy of national reconciliation, which is in line with the principles of Islam. A jirgah (council) of a number of Pashto tribes was held in Mehtarlam (Laghman Province). Tribal chiefs and elders approved the republic leadership's course of forming a coalition government on the broadest possible base, emphasizing that this is the only path leading to an end of the war.

Pakistan Camps Training Afghan Opposition

LD2601115589 Moscow TASS in English 1118 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Kabul January 26 TASS—Pakistani army camps are being used for training members of the Afghan opposition, the BAKHTAR news agency reported.

In the past month alone, over 6,000 rebels were trained in the use of various weapons and in methods of subversion. According to authentic data, BAKHTAR stresses, rebels are sent right after completing the "course" to reinforce bandit formations functioning on Afghanistan's territory.

A meeting of commanders of opposition groups, attended by Pakistani General Eftehar Ahmad, has recently been held in Quetta, Pakistan. The general's mission is to coordinate Afghan opposition activities. Apart from general assurances of support for "jihad" ("holy war") Eftehar Ahmad gave opposition commanders concrete instructions on new combat operations in Afghanistan's southern provinces.

Pakistan, openly violating the Geneva agreements, has lately been exerting every effort to intensify the war in Afghanistan, the BAKHTAR news agency stresses.

PLO Envoy Comments on Soviet-Israeli Ties

LD2601235889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1527 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Moscow, 26 Jan (TASS)—"An organized slaughter of the Palestinian people by the Israeli Army is taking place on the territory of occupied Palestine," Nabil Mahmud 'Umar, PLO representative extraordinary in the USSR, has stated at a press conference. [passage omitted]

Speaking of the PLO's position on the problem of restoring relations between the USSR and Israel, Nabil 'Umar said that the question of the future of relations between the USSR and Israel is the total prerogative of the Soviet leadership. At the same time he expressed confidence that on this question the USSR will proceed from the position frequently set out in speeches by Soviet leaders in accordance with which "the restoration

of relations between the USSR and Israel is fully conditional on the possibility of convening an international peace conference on the Near East."

U.S. Naval Expansion in Indian Ocean Viewed

OW2501231489 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Shakov commentary: "Old (?Reason) of a New Strategy," from the "World Today" program]

[Text] Since the end of World War II, the United States has been trying to establish itself as the omnipotent master in the Indian Ocean region. The United States has permanently stationed its Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean, and occasionally built up the U.S. naval forces there with vessels of the Sixth Fleet. The U.S. naval forces there comprise 1 to 2 multipurpose aircraft carriers, 2 to 4 missile cruisers, 9 to 12 cruisers, 2 to 3 nuclear-powered submarines, and supply vessels. The current U.S. naval expansion in the Indian Ocean is a continuation of its gunboat diplomacy, begun toward the end of the 19th century, although gunboats have now been replaced by aircraft carriers and missile vessels.

There has been an especially alarming trend in recent years, which shows why the United States is unwilling to give up its policy of perpetuating the militarization of the Indian Ocean. The reason is related to the U.S. space weapons program. According to Western press reports, a station for using space weaponry as a guide to hit targets has been under construction on the U.S. military base on Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean.

To make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace has become an increasingly pressing task. This idea has been supported by India and other countries in the region. In his speech in Krasnoyarsk, Soviet leader Gorbachev discussed the possibility for convening a conference on the Indian Ocean before 1990. The Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed to the United States and other non-Indian Ocean countries which have often deployed vessels there that the naval forces be cut and their activities reduced. The Soviet Union has also called on the United States and other countries concerned to hold talks on (?adopting measures for mutual trust in military affairs) in the Asia-Pacific and Indian regions. However, the United States and some of its allies have taken a stubborn stance. The action taken by the United States shows that it does not want to convene an international conference or make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. Former U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger said recently: We cannot accept such a phrase as (?military equilibrium) in the Indian Ocean region.

Officials Mark Indian National Day

PM2601165589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Strengthening Friendship"]

[Text] Close friendship links the Soviet and Indian peoples. Working on the basis of the common ideals of peace and broad international cooperation, the Soviet Union and India are in the front ranks of thoe who are trying to ensure a radical turn for the better in international affairs. This was said in the report by M.S. Kapitsa, chairman of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity With Asian and African Countries and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and in other speeches at the ceremonial meeting devoted to India's national day—Republic Day. It was held in Moscow on 25 January.

The recent Soviet-Indian summit meetings have created the preconditions for raising collaboration between the two countries to a qualitatively new level and have contributed to a considerable extent to improving the international situation, the speeches by K.P. Singh and K. Ayyar, leaders of the delegations from the Friends of the Soviet Union Society and the Indian-Soviet Cultural Society, noted.

T.N. Kaul, Indian ambassador to the Soviet Union, expressed the belief that Soviet-Indian relations will continue to grow steadily stronger on the basis of the 1986 Delhi Declaration, which embodies the ideas of a nuclear-free and nonviolent world. He emphasized the successful development of Soviet-Indian cooperation in the economic, trade, scientific and technical, and cultural spheres.

V.S. Shevchenko, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the leaders of a number of ministries and departments, and representatives of party, soviet, and social organizations took part in the meeting.

Leadership Greetings

PM2601160889 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 89 Second Edition p 1

[Message from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers to Indian President Venkataraman and Prime Minister Gandhi on India's Republic Day]

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Ramaswamy Venkataraman, president of the Republic of India:

To His Excellency Mr Rajiv Gandhi, prime minister of the Republic of India:

On your national holiday, Republic Day, we send to you and to the friendly people of India most cordial congratulations and warm greetings.

Soviet people rejoice in your country's great achievements along the path of independent development. The peace-loving foreign policy of India, an active participant in the Nonaligned Movement and the "Group of Six," enjoys high prestige in the world community. Everyone is familiar with the far-reaching, constructive initiatives put forward by your country at the United Nations and other international forums.

The peoples of the USSR and India are linked by close bonds of friendship. Our two states work together to ensure the resolution of the key problems of today—to guarantee peace, disarmament, and development for the present and future generations. This joint activity has become a constant factor of continuing international significance. The innovative coordinates set for the two countries' collaboration by the recent Soviet-Indian summit meetings promote to a considerable degree the normalization of the international situation. Our countries' cooperation in the sphere of the economy, trade, science and technology, and culture is developing successfully, acquiring new form and substance.

We are profoundly convinced that multifaceted Soviet-Indian relations will continue to strengthen steadily on the basis of the Treaty on Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation and the Delhi Declartion on the Principles of a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Nonviolent World.

We wish you good health and success, esteemed Mr President and Mr Prime Minister, and happiness and prosperity to the great Indian people.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers

Hashemi-Rafsanjani Background, Career Viewed

NC1101123589 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 10 Jan 89

[Text] In its "Political Portrait" column, the Soviet newspaper NOVOYE VREMYA carries an article on 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Iranian Majles. Soviet journalist Konstantin Kapitanov explains his views on the life and activities of this influential Iranian political personality, based on his perusal of publications and the impressions he gained from his visit to Iran. He writes:

Among the majority of Iranian politicians, it is believed that Hashemi-Rafsanjani is not well versed in religious knowledge and is not very proficient in Arabic. In their opinion, he was more active in trade, buying and selling, than in the pursuit of theological studies while at Qom. From his childhood, he was extremely interested in commerce and politics. As a result, he succeeded in projecting himself as an experienced and (?seasoned) politician.

In the recent third Majles elections which were held in May 1988, Hashemi-Rafsanjani brought in a large number of individuals loyal to himself and thus strengthened his position in the country. His stepbrother Hoseyn Hashemi is a Majles deputy and is also the leading producer and exporter of dried fruit. Mohammad Hashemi, another brother, is a Majles deputy and the director of Iranian radio and television. Another relative who is also a Majles deputy holds a high position in the Iranian Interior Ministry. Hashemi-Rafsanjani was able to gain the position of Majles speaker, with obligations as a member of the Council of Guardians— a liaison between Ayatollah Khomeyni and the Majles, on harmonizing approved laws with Islamic tenets and the country's constitutional statutes. He has also succeeded in attaining the position of the country's Armed Forces commander in chief.

In the view of most Iranians, Hashemi-Rafsanjani is the main contender for the leadership after the 88-year-old Khomeyni. Montazeri, the official successor to Khomeyni, does not have any of the real authority which is concentrated in Hashemi-Rafsanjani's hands. The Iranians themselves say that Montazeri will only be a religious leader and Hashemi-Rafsanjani will take over as the political leader of the country. Hashemi-Rafsanjani is seeking to gain the support of the IRGC, which numbers 350,000. It would be appropriate to say that he has had an active role in creating this corps, as against the conventional Iranian Armed Forces.

Hashemi-Rafsanjani has always been considered a moderate "pragmatist" [preceding word in English], as he desires improvement of ties with the West. After consolidating his position in the country, he actively embarked on carrying out his intentions. Hashemi-Rafsanjani calls for the establishment of cordial relations with former enemies such as the arch Satan, the United States. At present, relations with the United States are not normal. However, the inclination to improve them is evident on both sides. Where Iran is concerned, this inclination is embodied in the person of Hashemi-Rafsanjani, who has realized that without the United States, talks with the West will not be possible. However, this seasoned politician is also aware of another fact: that is, that anti-U.S. sentiment is still very intense. From this point of view he should bear these feelings in mind, at least for a while.

Even though he has been criticized for pursuing a pro-U.S. policy, Hashemi-Rafsanjani continues to forge persistently ahead in his idea of resuscitating Iranian-U.S. relations. Hashemi-Rafsanjani does not conceal his desire for closeness with the United States, and in every possible way he attempts to give the Americans the impression that in Iran he is the one to deal with. However, his special fondness is for the Japanese. Konstantin Kapitanov writes: When I was there, I realized that the Japanese are very active in Iran. Japanese traders have great hopes of Hashemi-Rafsanjani, and place great reliance on him. As regards relations with the Soviet Union, it may be said that Hashemi-Rafsanjani has never said a word. Even when the anti-Soviet campaign in Iran was at its height, he behaved to the contrary. Hashemi-Rafsanjani believes that his position is not only strong, but invincible.

Sub-Saharan Africa

No Reasons Given for Sierra Leone Deportations

LD2601172589 Moscow in English to Africa 1700 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Reports from Freetown say that the authorities of Sierra Leone decided to send two Soviet journalists out

of the country. Taking that decision the Government of Sierra Leone did not name any reasons for such action.

Cooperation Protocol Signed With Ethiopia

LD2001044289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1909 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Excerpt] Addis Ababa, 19 January (TASS)—The eighth sitting of the Soviet-Ethiopian Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation and Trade ended its work today. The final protocol points out that the sides will make every effort to further strengthen their links in agriculture, geology, power engineering, industry, science and technology. The carrying out of joint projects will facilitate the development of Ethiopia's economy and the improvement of the lives of its people. The document was signed by Tesfaye Dinka, deputy prime minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, and K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations.

At the sitting, the commission set up as one of its working bodies a Soviet-Ethiopian coordinating committee on the creation of joint enterprises in the field of agriculture and the agro-industrial complex. Today saw the holding of its first sitting, which considered the objectives of joint enterprises for the production and processing of coffee and tea and discussed the work being done at the animal farming and means processing complex in the town of Jijiga to make that project more profitable. New forms of cooperation were specified. The committee will hold its second sitting in Moscow. [passage omitted]

Further on Protocol

LD2501025589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2223 GMT 24 Jan 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Soviet-Ethiopian Commission on Economic, Scientific-Technical Cooperation, and Trade has ended its work in Addis Ababa with the signing of a protocol.

[Reporter A. Kraminov] The commission summed up the results and provided a specific evaluation of the state of affairs at each joint cooperation project. There are more than 40 of them under construction and about 20 are already functioning. Among them are such big operations as the Malka Wekana GES, which was built with the assistance of our country and Czechoslovakia. Its fourth and final unit was put on line recently and the production of electric power in Ethiopia has grown one and half times. There are also plans for developing vast territories which lie fallow in the region of Gambela and in the Likyawash Valley. [video shows a meeting in session]

The protocol, which was signed by Comrades Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations, and Tesfaye Dinka, vice president of the Ethiopian Council of State, determines which specific measures the two sides should take to accelerate the implementation of these projects.

The Soviet-Ethiopian geological expedition discovered a large gas deposit 2 years ago. The search for oil and gas, as stated in the document, will be conducted even more actively.

It has been decided to extend and modernize the petroleum processing plant, which is the only one in the country and which was built with Soviet assistance prior to the Ethiopian revolution.

SWAPO Head, UN Delegate on Namibian Independence

LD1801111589 Moscow TASS in English 0856 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] New York January 18 TASS—The South-West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) hails the decision by the U.N. Security Council on Namibia which set April 1 as a date for the start of implementing its resolution on granting independence to Namibia and declared determination to ensure its earliest achievement through free and just elections under the U.N. control, said Sam Nujoma, president of this organisation.

This day, he said at a press conference in New York on January 17, will come to the Namibian people not as a gift from heaven but as a result of its long-standing heroic struggle for freedom and as a result of numerous sacrifices and suffering. He expressed confidence that a free and democratic Namibia would be able soon to take its due place among sovereign states if the international community helps ensure truly free and just elections in Namibia. SWAPO, its president pointed out, will recognise the results, who have been waging the armed struggle for freedom under its leadership for 22 years, will support it at the elections.

At the same time Nujoma warned that the military and political situation in Namibia remained tense due to South African attempts to destabilise the process of elections. Of special concern is the intensive preparation by the apartheid regime of various puppet military units to interfere militarily in the process of elections and to continue the struggle against SWAPO. Therefore, he pointed to the need for the United Nations' strict control over the fulfilment of the agreements on Namibia.

Commenting on the Security Council resolution on Namibia which was adopted on Monday, Aleksandr Belonogov, Soviet representative to the U.N., told TASS that they paved the way for implementing its Resolution 435 on granting independence to Namibia, which was adopted in 1978. It took years of immense efforts to

bring closer realisation of the task of ensuring the transition of Namibia from the status of a colony to the position of an independent state. This is a great success achieved thanks to the staunch struggle of SWAPO, the "Frontline" States and internationalist assistance rendered to them by the Soviet Union and other socialist states during all this period. Special mention should be made of the role played by the Cuban internationalists who have given efficient assistance to Angola in ensuring security of its borders. Their actions helped convince the South African Government of the futility of its attempts to hold Namibia by force in the sphere of its influence and direct control.

The decisions of the Security Council presuppose that in the near future the U.N. secretary general is to offer it specific ideas on how he will implement the Security Council mandate, said Belonogov. Not much time is left till April 1 when the U.N. operation on granting independence to Namibia is to start. In this time it is necessary not only to draft and approve its schedule but to deploy in Namibia a considerable contingent of U.N. armed forces, police units and civil personnel. Taking into account the size of the country, and the distance between Namibia and the countries which will detail this personnel, it is an easy guess that the U.N. Secretariat has to do considerable preparatory work.

East Europe

Politburo's Slyunkov Completes GDR Visit

Tours Economic Institute

LD2601040289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Slyunkov's working visit to the GDR is continuing.

[Correspondent A. Zholkver] Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov today visited the Institute of Socialist Economic Management which is attached to the SED Central Committee. Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, arrived along with him. [video shows Slyunkov and Mittag arriving by car]

Professor Koziolek, the institute's director, acquainted them with the work of this educational establishment, where the leaders of the GDR's national economy are trained and obtain higher qualifications. These leaders range from the directors and party organizers of leading combines to ministers and their deputies. Much work is being conducted at the institute on problems relating to the socialist economy. The institute also closely cooperates with educational establishments in the Soviet Union.

Comrades Slyunkov and Mittag and the Soviet and German specialists accompanying them exchanged views on deepening this cooperation. There was talk in particular of a broader use of computer equipment in their work. [video shows institute director addressing gathering, which includes Slyunkov; a display of books and brochures; a close-up of Slyunkov; and Slyunkov talking to a group of people in front of some display screens]

Kolesnikov, USSR minister of the electronics industry who is accompanying Comrade Slyunkov on his working visit to the GDR, today acquainted himself with a plant producing semiconductors in the town of Frankfurt am der Oder. The workers and engineers of the plant greatly contributed to the fact that last year the production of personal computers in the republic increased by 16 percent. [video shows Kolesnikov being shown around a plant]

Meets With Honecker

LD2601163189 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin January 26 TASS—On January 26 the GDR's leader Erich Honecker received Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, staying in the GDR on a working visit.

Noting that the GDR was following with great interest the process of perestroyka in the USSR, Honecker voiced support for the course of the 27th CPSU Congress and wished many a success in implementing the decisions of the congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

Slyunkov dwelt at length on the party's practical work on renewal of Soviet society, deepening of socialist democracy and development of working people's power, as well as on questions of implementing the sweeping economic reform, its first results and next moves.

In discussing questions of bilateral relations, the sides expressed unanimity that the USSR and the GDR have a good potential for deepening and improving cooperation between them in the economic, scientific and technical spheres. They pointed to the determination of the two countries to use vigorously this potential for the good of their peoples and in the interests of socialism and peace. They noted that this should be done on the basis of existing understandings and agreements and by using progressive forms of cooperation.

The sides pointed to the great importance of the initiatives put forth by the USSR and the GDR in unilateral reduction of the armed forces and armaments of the two states.

On the same day the sides signed a protocol at the Soviet Embassy in Berlin, which reflects joint proposals to deepen cooperation between the USSR and the GDR. On January 26 Nikolay Slyunkov departed from Berlin.

Seen Off by Mittag

LD2601153189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1502 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin, 26 January (TASS)—Nikolay Slyunkov, member of the Politburo and the CPSU Central Committee secretary, who was in the GDR on a working visit at the invitation of the SED Central Committee, departed from here today.

He was seen off at the airport by Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and SED Central Committee secretary.

Included in the farewell party was Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR.

Returns 26 Jan, Met by Chebrikov

LD2701023389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Comrade Slyunkov's working visit to the GDR has ended.

[Correspondent A. Zholkver] The 7 October Machine-Building Combine has firm, long-standing ties with enterprises in our country. Nikolay Nikitovich Slyunkov and Guenther Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, visited the combine's head enterprise in the Berlin district of Weissensee, where they familiarized themselves with production and talked to workers, engineers, and designers. An exchange of views took place on the prospects for the development of machine tool building and on ways of strengthening cooperation between the combine and its Soviet partners—major customers for up-to-date machine tools, transfer lines, and flexible production systems. [video shows top of combine building; Slyunkov seated at long table inside room and taking notes as he listens to his hosts; Slyunkov seated next to Mittag at table listening; Slyunkov and Mittag on tour of the production area]

A meeting took place between Erich Honecker and Comrade Slyunkov in the SED Central Committee building. Comrade Honecker explained the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and described the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. He stressed that the tested friendship between the CPSU and the SED and the close cooperation and interaction between the Soviet Union and the GDR are guarantees for successful progress along this path. Comrade Slyunkov briefed him on the decisions of the January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and described in detail the party's practical work to renew Soviet society, strengthen socialist democracy, and implement radical reform in the Soviet economy. [video shows Honecker with Mittag sitting to left of Slyunkov]

Today, too, a protocol on Comrade Slyunkov's working visit to the GDR was signed at the USSR Embassy in Berlin. [video shows outside of USSR embassy; inside Mittag and Slyunkov signing protocol]

[Begin recording] [Slyunkov] The measures agreed upon for further pooling of efforts in scientific and technical progress are of special note and importance. The major areas of joint scientific research work, the major areas that will improve the structure of the economies of our countries have been selected, determined, and agreed on. Twenty-five main areas of cooperation have been agreed on.

[Mittag, in German fading into superimposed Russian translation] I would like to say that following the Moscow meeting between Comrades Honecker and Gorbachev, considerable preparatory work has been done on studying all spheres of our cooperation. This is of major importance for the qualitative development of the economies of our states. [video shows Slyunkov and Mittag speaking at the embassy] [end recording]

[Announcer] Comrade Slyunkov returned home today. At Vnukovo airport he was met by Comrade Chebrikov and other officials.

Zaykov Continues Talks in Belgrade

PM2601161589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Working Visit"]

[Text] On 25 January L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, left Moscow for Yugoslavia on a working visit at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee.

He was seen off at the airport by A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and other officials.

Yugoslav Ambassador to the USSR M. Veres was in the send-off party.

On the same day L.N. Zaykov arrived in Belgrade. He was greeted at the airport by R. Smiljkovic, chairman of the Belgrade LCY City Committee; A. Bakocevic, chairman of the Belgrade City Assembly; M. Milojevic, member of the LCY Central Committee; V. Kuzmanovic, secretary of the Belgrade LCY City Committee Presidium; and other officials.

The welcoming party included USSR Ambassador to Yugoslavia V.P. Loginov.

Ways of strengthening ties of fraternal friendship and party comradeship were discussed during a detailed conversation at the Belgrade LCY City Committee. Its chairman, R. Smiljkovic, member of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee, warmly welcomed the Soviet guest and informed him of the city party organization's work in tackling the current and long-term tasks of party building facing Belgrade Communists.

He noted with satisfaction the successful development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the LCY and the CPSU, between the two countries, and between Belgrade and Moscow and confirmed the resolve to continue strengthening and expanding them on the basis of the principles and accords contained in the joint documents adopted as a result of summit meetings.

The practical implementation of these principles and accords, given constant concern for strengthening mutual understanding and creating an atmosphere of mutual trust and amicability and a respectful attitude toward one another's interests, is producing visible and mutually advantageous results in many areas. This meeting will serve to further develop friendship between the party organizations of the two countries' capitals, will make a contribution to strengthening cooperation between the two parties, and will bring the Yugoslav and Soviet peoples closer together.

L.N. Zaykov gave the Yugoslav comrades a detailed account of the course of the revolutionary restructuring of all spheres of Soviet society's life which is being implemented on the CPSU's initiative. The restructuring began in April 1985 and has now swept the country, changing the political and moral atmosphere for the better before our very eyes and creating conditions making it possible to fully reveal the potential of socialist democracy and enabling millions of people to become actively involved in running the affairs of their plants, construction sites, kolkhozes, and society as a whole.

The restructuring process became particularly active after the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The Soviet people's determination to implement its guidelines gave our forward movement purpose, depth, and dynamism and made it irreversible. The set goals are being achieved in conditions of radical economic and political reforms and the fundamental strengthening of the system of people's power.

It was noted that it is these life-giving processes that have enormously increased the party's role as the political vanguard of the Soviet people, who are actively and purposefully building a flourishing and strong rule-of-law socialist state. Our country's biggest party organization, the Moscow party organization, which has nearly 1.2 million Communists in its ranks, has a crucial part to play in this work, in the destiny of restructuring.

The 27th Moscow city party conference has just been held. It was addressed by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary informed the Yugoslav comrades of the progress being made in preparations for the elections to our country's supreme organ of state power. A newly elected USSR Congress of People's Deputies is to shape the new structure of state organs. Never before has an election campaign been conducted in conditions of such a high degree of political activeness on the part of the masses. The results of the elections in conditions of the nomination of alternative candidates will be an objective measure of the Communists' authority.

In the course of restructuring, democratization of society, and creation of a rule-of-law state special significance is attached to the improvement of interethnic relations. L.N. Zaykov reported that in accordance with the 19th party conference resolution "On Interethnic Relations" and the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee July (1988) Plenum, the task has been set of legislatively broadening the rights of union republics and autonomous entities, transferring a number of administrative functions to local bodies, and increasing the independence and, consequently, the responsibility of regions in the spheres of the economy, sociocultural development, and ecological matters. At the same time, the task has been set of strengthening the union state and increasing the role of its organs. The attention the party is paying to this range of issues is also indicated by the fact that questions connected with the development of interethnic relations will be examined at a forthcoming CPSU Central Committee plenum.

The deep-lying processes taking place in our country are clearly reflected by the capital's public life. A few days after the completion of the report and election campaign in the city party organization, one can confidently say that it took place beneath the sign of practical implementation of the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. In party groups and shop and primary party organizations there were tens of thousands of meetings at which Communists discussed in exacting terms the course of the economic reform, the restructuring of party life, and ways of mastering political methods of leadership. The debate centered on ways of increasing the responsibility of every Communist for the cause of restructuring and for results in party work. This fruitful dialogue took place in conditions of democratization of intraparty life.

The Moscow city party conference demonstrated that the Communists and working people of the Soviet capital, like the entire people, are making increasing efforts to back with specific deeds the party's course of radical renewal of our society. The task of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom is to generate in the city an atmosphere that will make it possible to increase the capital's contribution to this creative process and exploit Moscow's enormous economic and intellectual potential to the greatest effect.

The Moscow Communists' party conference was the culmination of the report and election campaign in the party, L.N. Zaykov went on. The campaign, which took place in an atmosphere of uninhibitedness, principledness, and exactingness reaffirmed the fact that the CPSU is the nucleus, the driving force of restructuring, and the acknowledged leader of the people's movement for the renewal of socialism, a movement of unprecedented scope.

Moscow working people, under the leadership of the city party organization, have already done a great deal to improve economic life in the capital. Production and labor productivity growth rates in the capital's industry are stable and exceed the 5-year plan targets. Science's experimental base is getting stronger, and this is already a factor in increasing the rate of scientific and technical progress.

All this has created preconditions for the social reorientation of the capital's mighty economic complex and improvement of the standard and quality of Muscovites' life. This trend lies at the basis of the CPSU's socioeconomic strategy.

L.N. Zaykov gave a detailed account of the transfer of enterprises to economic accountability and self-financing, stressing the heightened activeness of labor collective councils, and told the Yugoslav comrades about the problems that have arisen in the course of the formation of the cooperative sector of the Soviet economy.

Questions connected with the social development of the Soviet and Yugoslav capitals took up a large part of the conversation. Moscow and Belgrade have many similar problems: It is necessary to ensure stable growth of the rate of construction of housing and social, cultural, and consumer service facilities, develop trade, transport, health, and the services sphere more rapidly, and tackle the difficult ecological questions which are an increasing worry to people.

In these spheres, the participants in the conversation believe, fuller use must be made of the potential for cooperation between the Moscow CPSU Gorkom and the Belgrade LCY City Committee and direct links must be actively developed between party organizations and labor collectives. Specific proposals were made on these questions by the Soviet and Yugoslav sides. In particular, the question of holding a Belgrade Festival in Moscow and a Moscow Festival in Belgrade was considered.

In the afternoon L.N. Zaykov met at the USSR Embassy in Yugoslavia with personnel of Soviet institutions and specialists working in Yugoslavia. He dwelt on the key tasks of implementing the party's program for the radical renewal of society and stressed the need to concentrate efforts on implementing the decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Mention was made of the growing significance of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation.

Visits Memorials, Science Collective

LD2701021889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondents A. Krutov and V. Nogin in Belgrade]

[Text] [Krutov] Today Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov visited the memorial to Josip Broz Tito, a prominent figure in the international communist and workers movement. Then there was a visit to the memorial cemetery for Belgrade's liberators. The inhabitants of the capital, the peoples of Yugoslavia, carefully preserve the memory of the Soviet and Yugoslav soldiers who gave their lives in liberating the city from the Nazi invaders. [video shows Zaykov walking in a group; Zaykov laying wreath at Tito memorial; Zaykov laying wreath at the soldiers monument]

Belgrade is smaller than Moscow. It has a population of 1.2 million. Many successes have been achieved during the years of people's power. But there are plenty of problems too, problems that are equally similar for Moscow and Belgrade. Transportation, for instance. As you can see, during the peak hours the inhabitants of Belgrade also have to wait at the bus stop and then travel on overcrowded buses. There is much building going on—I am talking about housing now—but getting a state apartment is complicated. Housing is mostly cooperative. In social, cultural, and consumer areas, as we say, that is as far as shops and cafes are concerned—as you can see—there is a difference and it is marked. There are all sorts of products and goods to suit every taste, and they are of a high quality. But the prices, the prices are mad, as they say here. [video shows street scenes; bus line; housing construction; shop windows]

The Yugoslavs now have one desire: to stop the decline in real incomes, the fall in the standard of living. How these issues are resolved in the Yugoslav capital and back home, in Moscow, is now being discussed in this building, the Belgrade Skupstina, or the city council, as we would call it. [video shows reporter outside the building] Here Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov is meeting Aleksandar Bakocevic, chairman of the Belgrade Skupstina. The leaders have plenty to discuss and plenty to learn from one another. [video shows meeting around an oval table; close-up of Zaykov at the table]

[Nogin] In the afternoon Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov was familiarized with the work of the Mihajlo Pupin Institute of Automation, Telecommunications, and Computer Technology. Having highly appraised the level of its scientific collective's designs, Lev Nikolayevich discussed the participation of its employees in the creation of a general scheme of development for Moscow transport.

Drugs from the Galenika pharmaceutical enterprise are known far beyond the borders of Yugoslavia. The work and concerns of the labor collective, as well as expansion of contacts with Moscow enterprises, were discussed during Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov's conversations with Galenika's blue- and white-collar workers. [video shows Zaykov and entourage outside the works; pharmaceutical production line; white-coated Zaykov talking to workers]

In the evening a meeting between Lev Nikolayevich Zaykov and the Belgrade party aktiv took place.

IZVESTIYA Corrects Hungarian Cutback Figure

PM2601151189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 24 January 1989 on page 4 of its Morning Edition carries an unattributed "correction" to the 17 January IZVESTIYA report entitled "Hungarian Military Cutbacks, Conversions Noted," carried on page 35, columns a and b, of the 19 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

The correction, pertaining to paragraph four, sentence five of the published report, reads: "A report by F. Lukyanov entitled 'Hungary Cuts Military Budget' (IZVESTIYA, No 17) contained the following words: 'In the minister's words, a proposal for a substantial (25-percent) reduction in the size of the Hungarian Army is now being examined.' Through the fault of the author, the figure that is quoted is wrong."

Deputy Minister Receives Poland's Urban

LD2501212489 Moscow International Service in Polish 1400 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] On 25 January USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Aboymov received Polish Government Spokesman Minister Jerzy Urban, who is visiting Moscow as a guest of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. Ivan Aboymov and Jerzy Urban informed each other of the course of restructuring in the Soviet Union and reforms in Poland. Certain aspects of Soviet-Polish cooperation in information and propaganda work were also discussed.

Wlodzimierz Natorf, Polish ambassador to the USSR, took part in the talks.

USSR-Polish Cooperation Commission Meets

LD2001232689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The 31st session of the Soviet-Polish Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation has taken place in Moscow.

[Correspondent V. Belitskiy] The session examined progress in the implementation of accords on key issues of cooperation reached last year during negotiations between the leaders of the USSR and Poland. The sides agreed on a concept of bilateral economic, scientific, and technical cooperation for 15-20 years. Measures for further improving the economic mechanism of cooperation, which envisage in part the participation of enterprises in wholesale trade on the markets of both countries and expansion of border area collaboration, were worked out. The heads of the delegations, Sekula, deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, and Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, signed a protocol on the results of the work of the session.

[Begin recording, in Polish with superimposed Russian translation] [Sekula] We have carried out much very useful work, and this is not merely politeness but a fair assessment of what has been achieved. After all, our cooperation is entering a new, very important stage. Apart from examining the usual issues, such as mutual trade and payments, accords on the application of the national currencies in settlements within the new framework of collaboration between enterprises and organizations, and on cooperation in product quality management were worked out and signed. A joint Soviet-Polish Chamber of Commerce and Industry was also approved.

[Belitskiy] And what will the man in the street, both in your country and in ours, get out of this?

[Sekula] First and foremost the successful fulfillment of these decisions will lead to an improved supply of goods in the shops, while enterprises, thanks to the collaboration, will be able to produce better quality goods less expensively. [end recording]

Soviet, Polish Planning Chiefs View Cooperation

PM2601164789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Cooperation Developing"]

[Text] On 25 January there was a working meeting between Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of

the USSR Gosplan, and I. Sekula, deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers Economic Committee.

They discussed issues connected with coordinating the state plans of the Soviet Union and Poland for the period 1991-1995 and further developing economic cooperation between the two countries in the forthcoming period.

A concept of economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and Poland for 15-20 years was signed during the meeting.

Gorbachev Greets Polish Friendship Society

PM2701100589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 89 Second Edition p 1

[M.S. Gorbachev greetings message to the 12th Congress of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society]

[Text] To the 12th Polish-Soviet Friendship Society Congress:

Dear comrades and friends!

Feelings of mutual respect and spiritual kinship have existed from time immemorial between the peoples of our countries. These traditions, preserved even under complex historical conditions, were powerfully developed after World War II, in which the Soviet Union and Poland fought shoulder to shoulder for freedom against mankind's common enemy—fascism. For more than 40 years now multifaceted, mutually beneficial ties have been developing between our socialist states in politics, the economy, and culture, and personal contacts between Soviet and Polish citizens have assumed broad scope.

Soviet-Polish friendship is a great asset to our peoples. It has become the affair of millions of people in both countries today, and a great deal of the credit for this goes to the perennial, multifaceted activity of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society and its many thousands of activists.

Your congress has met at an interesting and crucial time—the Soviet Union and Poland are experiencing the multifaceted proceses of the renewal of sociopolitical structures and are launching a quest for optimum forms and methods in order to reveal more fully the potential of socialism. Under these conditions the significance of the exchange of experience and comprehensive cooperation between our countries is increasing.

Please accept, dear friends, my sincere gratitude for your noble public activity and my wishes for success in the work of the congress.

May Soviet-Polish friendship live and grow stronger.

M.S. Gorbachev

Bulgarian Minister Discusses Economic Ties

PM2601165189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] A conversation took place 25 January between V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and A.K. Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Bulgarian minister of foreign economic relations.

They discussed the question of cooperation between the two countries in timber procurement and processing.

G. Pankov, Bulgarian ambassador to the Soviet Union, took part in the conversation.

Lizichev Meets Members of CSSR Academy

PM2601130989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Jan 89 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "On Official Friendly Visit"]

[Text] Prague, 24 Jan—Today Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, who is in Czechoslovakia on an official friendly visit, visited the A. Zapotocki military academy in Brno.

A meeting took place with teachers and students of the academy. Colonel General J. Klicha, chief of the Czechoslovak People's Army Political Main Administration, familiarized the visitors with the main avenues of restructuring in the Czechoslovak People's Army. In his speech Army General A.D. Lizichev dwelt on the principles of restructuring military education in the USSR.

On the same day a talk took place with V. Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the South Moravian Communist Party of Czechoslovakia kraj committee.

Albania-SFRY Talks Show Progress

PM2701114389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[Ye. Fadeyev "Reader's Call" report: "Meeting in Tirana"]

[Text] There have been several calls to our editorial office asking for an account of the meeting that has just taken place in Tirana between the Albanian foreign minister and the Yugoslav deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs. Our own correspondent in the SFRY replies to readers.

Belgrade, 25 Jan—The meeting between R. Malile, Albanian foreign minister, and M. Maksic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, lasted 1 hour and 45 minutes. There was a detailed exchange of views on the current state of relations between the two states and on steps to improve good-neighborliness and cooperation.

During the conversation special mention was made of the independent—nonbloc—development of the two countries. The paper POLITIKA writes that in this context the Albanian foreign minister announced that Albania has no territorial claims on anyone at all and wants stability and tranquility in the whole of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav side stressed the rights of ethnic Albanians in the SFRY.

As is known, there are still serious and profound differences between Albania and Yugoslavia on many issues. But despite this, the press notes, the sides at the meeting in Tirana sought to separate the prejudices from the realities of present-day life. This approach is a step forward in their mutual understanding.

After the meeting M. Maksic said that relations between the two neighboring countries are developing and "moving forward." There have been positive changes in many areas, but much still needs to be done in a number of spheres, he added, and this applies particularly to the organization of relations between the two states' citizens.

The conclusion of a consular agreement was proposed at the Tirana meeting.

The meeting demonstrated, Yugoslav commentators note, that new prospects have emerged for further political contacts between Belgrade and Tirana.

The Yugoslav media view the Tirana meeting in the context of Albania's foreign policy activity. Albania's diplomatic relations with Bulgaria have been raised to embassy level. Trade agreements have been signed with Yugoslavia and foreign trade contacts are developing with China. Economic cooperation is broadening with Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Romania, Hungary, Cuba, Italy, France, the FRG, and other states.

West Europe

USSR's Adamishin Holds Talks in UK

Meets With Howe on Ties

LD2601221789 Moscow TASS in English 2147 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] London January 27 TASS—Geoffrey Howe, British foreign secretary, today received O.L. Adamishin, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, who is staying in the British capital in connection with bilateral political consultations. During the talk the sides considered several aspects of Soviet-British relations, including an opportunity to boost cooperation in the humanitarian area, and also interaction of the Soviet Union and Britain in settling regional conflicts.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the results of the Vienna meeting of the participating states in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and noted the importance of scrupulously honouring the Vienna accords by all participants in the CSCE process.

Meets Foreign Office Official

LD2601221489 Moscow TASS in English 2146 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] London January 27 TASS—O.L. Adamishin, deputy foreign minister of the USSR, who arrived in the British capital to hold consultations, today met David Ratford, assistant under-secretary of state, Foreign and Commonwealth Office. They held a businesslike and substantive talk on issues of the humanitarian and legal nature. They discussed, in part, various aspects of the human rights situation in the USSR and Britain, including in their socio- economic dimension, the state of humanitarian exchanges and also new vistas being opened to both countries in the light of the final document of the Vienna review conference.

The British side showed great interest in the way the legal reform is being implemented in the USSR in line with the policy of openness and democratization, and specific issues—the freedom of conscience, exit and entry into the country, access to information are being solved. Adamishin stressed that perestroyka moved to the fore a real ensurance of human rights, protection of man's dignity, and creation of conditions for a harmonious development of the individual.

During the talk the British side was proposed a programme of contacts in the humanitarian area between ordinary people, parliamentarians, scientists, and representatives of public quarters and organisations.

The meeting was held in a constructive atmosphere. An accord was reached to continue mutually useful consultations in the humanitarian area.

Soviet-Swedish Cooperation Prospects Noted

PM2501101989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Soviet-Swedish Commission Session Over"]

[Text] Stockholm, 20 Jan—The 16th session of the Soviet-Swedish Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation, which has ended here, was devoted to discussing the potential for expanding mutually advantageous ties being opened up by the radical economic reforms in the Soviet Union.

Representatives of Swedish state departments and the Soviet delegation headed by V.I. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign economic relations, spent 4 days examining the state of bilateral contacts in the economic sphere and outlined the prospects for their development this year. Success in implementing the agreement on coastal trade concluded in 1985 was noted. It was emphasized at the forum that the process of creating joint enterprises has begun and is gathering momentum.

V.I. Vorontsov was received by Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson. B.D. Pankin, USSR ambassador to Sweden, participated in the talks.

CPSU Delegation Concludes Visit to Cyprus

PM2601154589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jan 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Return Home"]

[Text] Nicosia, 24 Jan—The visit of the CPSU delegation headed by V.S. Babichev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Organizational Party Work Department, to Cyprus has ended. In the course of the visit the CPSU delegation held numerous meetings with the apparatus of some of the country's leading political parties.

In the course of the conversation at the Restorative Party of the Working People [AKEL] (Cyprus) Central Committee, D. Kristofinis, general secretary of the AKEL Central Committee, familiarized the delegation with the situation on the island and the possible prospects for a settlement of the Cyprus problem. In turn the leader of the CPSU delegation talked about the revolutionary transformations underway in the Soviet Union.

The CPSU delegation was received by Cypriot President Y. Vasiliou, who thanked the Soviet people for their constant and effective support for the Cypriots in their just struggle for a united, independent, and nonaligned Cyprus.

The CPSU delegation left for home today.

Political & Social

Deputy Nominations Complete; Campaign Stage Begins

PM2701111589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Special correspondents A. Davydov, V. Dolganov, and M. Kushtapin article under the rubric "Elections of USSR People's Deputies": "The Candidates Are Nominated—the Struggle Lies Ahead"]

[Text] **The nominations of candidate USSR people's deputies are over. In every labor collective and public organization, in every electoral okrug, this stage of a political campaign which is of the greatest importance for our society and for the future of restructuring produced sharp clashes of positions and opinions and was accompanied by tumultuous debates and profound discussion of the political and professional qualities of potential candidates. This was only to be expected. This was the first time we had taken part in a political struggle based on democratic principles and new laws.**

Who is to be entrusted with supreme power in the country? How are we to select from the mass of contestants those who would succeed in changing our entire way of life, in upholding and advancing restructuring, in guaranteeing that society would not suffer from recurrences of the past? So far, we lack experience in political election campaigns. We are learning as we go along, frequently from our own mistakes.

At the very first stage of the election campaign which is being conducted in the new style we learned quite a few useful lessons in democracy which we must jointly interpret. After all, the struggle will become even more intense at the next stage: An average of more than 2 candidates will be contesting every deputy seat in the country as a whole. What are these lessons?

We probably ought to start with the fact that, when nominating the candidates, we discovered among ourselves a large number of principled, responsible, and honest people capable of energetic political activity. It emerged—contrary to ideas held in the past—that the people do not need prompting "from above," they are capable of making their choice without going wrong, of nominating those who really share their interests, who are concerned about restructuring, whose specific deeds prove their commitment to the new. This is the essence of the political reform of our society being implemented by the party.

We are sincerely pleased to see among candidate USSR people's deputies people who have headed restructuring and the struggle waged by the party and the whole people to overcome stagnation phenomena and to cleanse socialism of diverse accretions and distortions, as well as those uncompromising "leaders" ["proraby"] who, even in the grimmest and darkest time, did not forgo their beliefs and prepared the ground for today's changes. Academician Abalkin and kolkhoz link leader Parubok, movie director Abuladze and oilman Sidorenko, cosmonauts Savitskaya and Atkov, surgeons Ilizarov and Fedorov, writers Granin and Rasputin, investigator Gdlyan—these and many other names are famous throughout the country.

Much is happening for the first time in the course of the current election campaign. Nomination of candidates by public organizations and by place of residence. The right to self-nomination. Multiple candidacies for one seat. Restrictions on leadership officials from ministries and departments who, as a rule, received their mandate automatically in the past, ex officio ... In other words, the new law guarantees democratic representation in the supreme organ of power. The main point today is to ensure that we ourselves manage to take full advantage of the law. Do we exercise our rights in full? Are we at times not succumbing to the influence of former "armchair" stereotypes and methods of struggle?

These are not random questions. They are asked by readers in their letters and telegrams, in the course of telephone conversations, during visits to the editorial offices. Unfortunately, many reports have an alarming sound to them.

"Some academy leaders, taking advantage of the monopoly vested in their hands, singled out a group of people from among themselves and protected it against real competition at the subsequent stages of the election campaign... Doctors of Sciences Yu. Levada and V. Sheynis."

"We decided to nominate a candidate from our place of residence, but the rayon leadership refused to give us permission without giving satisfactory reasons. L. Ivanova, housewife; V. Potapov, engineer; I. Kozlovskaya, statistician; Yu. Pashanova, chief librarian."

Let us dwell in some detail on the last letter. Unfortunately, unjustified refusals of permission to hold meetings at places of residence were quite widespread during the nomination of candidate deputies. This was raised with special concern at the recent session of the Central Electoral Commission. In the case we are looking into, people were refused permission by officials from Moscow's Tushinskiy Rayispolkom. Reluctant to take on additional work, ispolkom members and members of the No 25 Tushinskiy Electoral Okrug Electoral Commission committed a direct breach of the law. The commission secretary demanded a list containing the names of at least 500 voters and... their personal signatures. It was only after the editorial office and the Central Electoral Commission intervened that the residents were authorized to hold their meeting.

What lies behind such cases? Unpreparedness to work in the new fashion? Ignorance of the Law on Elections? Or maybe a desire to fit the voters' will within the framework of directives hurriedly issued "from above"? People in Tushin did not yield to pressure by the apparatus

and proved the legitimacy of their demands. This is another positive aspect of the new election campaign: Nobody is any longer willing to put up with officialdom's barricades, nobody is likely to stand to attention at the very first shout.

There were, alas, more than enough shouts and attempts to manipulate the expression of voters' will, to interfere with the course of the struggle from behind the scenes. They were different in every specific case. Nevertheless, behind the abundance of conflict situations during the election campaign one could clearly perceive easily recognizable trends from past years of ill repute. For example, N. Golovko, first deputy chairman of the Znaniye All-Union Society Board, "manipulated" presidium members who had assembled on the eve of the plenum: Everything must be done, he said, to ensure that the chairman of the board is successfully nominated, failure to elect him would bring the society to the brink of political crisis. And he right away proposed finding "someone tried and tested to chair the meeting," someone who "must be capable of waging a fight."

That someone was Academician V. Kudryavtsev, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute. He chaired both the Znaniye meeting and the enlarged session of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium. He waged the "fights" in an intelligent fashion, constantly issuing reminders about the need to "strictly adhere to democratic principles." In the first case, however, he managed to persuade the audience to "draw a line" after discussing the list of candidates proposed by the presidium, even though everyone had previously voted in favor of another decision: to discuss locally nominated candidates after discussing the "presidium" list. The other case produced a unique result—there were fewer candidates nominated by the USSR Academy of Sciences than there were seats. The meeting chairman persuaded those present not to change this result but to transfer the seats to their colleagues from scientific societies. In our view, this situation teaches yet another lesson in democracy. It is natural that the ability to conduct a meeting with a firm hand, to control it so as to prevent it ending up in a disorderly rally and endless debate, is one of the chairman's attributes. In this context we cannot reproach him: He conducted his business the way he saw fit. But look at the interesting situation which develops. The editorial office and the Central Electoral Commission received dozens of protests from academic institutes and participants in the enlarged presidium session demanding that the results of the vote be adjudged void. The problem can be solved only by the Central Electoral Commission. All that is left for us to say is this: It was probably incumbent upon these learned men to realize where the meeting was heading and to take into account the opinions of numerous scientific collectives who had nominated famous and deserving people, as well as that of session participants who demanded a much larger number of alternative candidates.

Fine, let us repeat for the umpteenth time: We are still in the process of learning democracy. But in this school we cannot have failures or repeat students; history has given our society no time for this, the guarantees of the irreversibility of restructuring are only just being created. There is considerable confrontation. For example, nominations in seven okrugs in Saratov Oblast were held in such an "organized" fashion and with such rare "unanimity" that every candidate is already guaranteed success at the forthcoming elections. For example, ispolkom apparatus functionaries in one of Rostov-na-Donu's larger rayons arbitrarily claimed for themselves the functions of members of the democratically elected electoral commission, while a party gorkom bureau in Tomsk Oblast, in demanding that a candidate it considered unsuitable should withdraw his nomination, compromised someone who was well known for his uncompromising attitude in the struggle against shortcomings...

Here is a typical aspect: Where the obvious intentions of participants in the political struggle are least democratic, there you hear the loudest declarations of a commitment to democracy, glasnost, and restructuring in general. At times things reached the point where opponents were censured and political labels attached to them. F. Kuznetsov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences and director of the A.M. Gorkiy World Literature Institute, resorted to an original method of defense when the enlarged session of the academy's presidium raised doubts about the expediency of including his candidacy on the secret ballot list. Addressing the audience, he warned: His exclusion from the list, he said, would be a major historical mistake by the public. Of course, everyone is entitled to campaign for his own election as he sees fit, but this is probably necessary to maintain a sense of moderation.

Dissatisfaction with the results of voting on the nomination of candidate USSR people's deputies is felt not only within academic institutions. People are justly complaining that their opinion was disregarded and the path for representatives of primary organization was blocked also in a number of other social formations.

Many more examples could be cited. But it is probably more important to understand the reasons why people are dissatisfied with any particular result. We have spent too long waiting for an opportunity to honestly and openly elect our genuine representatives rather than a list of "servants of the people" issued "from above," we have spent too long simply dropping ballot papers into the box rather than expressing our will to be expected now to put up with attempts to introduce the old bureaucratic methods into the democratic process. But, while worrying about restructuring and striving to play an active part in it both by word and by deed, each and every one of us must clearly realize: The apparatus games will not sink into oblivion of their own accord.

Society itself bears a tremendous responsibility for the creation of the new fully empowered soviets, for all future political and economic transformations, for the

people's social prosperity. Not a single one of us has the right to evade this responsibility, and it will depend on us alone whether restructuring principles will triumph at the new elections or whether "the entire apparatus host" will take advantage of our powers and and our rights.

The practice of candidate nominations demonstrated, as numerous voters justly remark, a certain inadequacy in some of the law's articles which offer an opportunity for different interpretations which are utilized for different purposes. In some cases in the interests of glasnost and broad collective discussion, in other cases for attempts to shape the new organ of power according to conventional administrative prescriptions.

Naturally, every new law gets better with the passage of time; life itself introduces amendments to it. The experience of the current campaign will be useful in the future for the further development of electoral legislation and its alignment with actual practice. In all probability, the initial lessons in democracy with their positive and negative sides will be taken into account by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies and the renewed and permanent USSR Supreme Soviet at future stages of political reform.

But as for now, as for today, it is important that we all remember: It is only the initial stage of the elections that is over. The election campaign is not concluded once candidates are nominated, it actually enters a phase of even greater intensity. Candidates will have to fight for their constituents' votes, for the voters' faith in their program of future activity as a deputy. We voters also have to fight. For our candidates. To ensure that the congress is made up of deputies for whom restructuring is not just a slogan, not just another campaign, but a personal cause of vital importance.

It is important not to make mistakes.

Candidates Advocate Restructuring

LD2501174689 Moscow TASS in English 1539 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—By TASS Analyst Boris Prokhorov.

A new, and possibly the most important stage of the election campaign has started in the Soviet Union. According to deadlines laid down in the election law, the nomination of candidates ended on January 24. Now they will be registered at constituencies, after which candidates will meet their electorates, setting out, substantiating and defending their platforms. Campaigning for votes will then begin in earnest.

Thus, before winning the status of an official candidate, those who were suggested at meetings and conference of voters, have to undergo another test by public opinion: registration at a constituency. In the past, when one candidate was nominated for a constituency, he or she was registered for sure, since the constituency election commission had no choice. Now the situation is different. Therefore, the law demands constituency conferences of voters, who will decide in a democratic way which of the nominated candidates should be registered: it is possible to nominate 20 or 50 candidates but it would be obviously absurd to put all of them on ballot papers.

Such conferences will not only be called in constituencies where only two candidates are slated: in such cases both of them will be put on ballot papers. Incidentally, there are only a few constituencies of this kind. As a rule, more than two candidates have been nominated per seat. Therefore, constituency election conferences are now being prepared. Their delegates will have to make a difficult choice as there are not many "weak" or "mediocre" candidates.

Drastic changes are evident in the list of candidates. There are no soviet ministers among them. The principle of a division of legislative and executive power has truly come into force. In the past ministers and other executives of central departments made up a large group among candidates. Fewer people are now nominated just because they have earned merit in the past or have performed important and hard work. Now voters apply another qualitative yardstick to their future deputies: They should be active in public life, have constructive and fresh ideas and should be bold in advocating their position.

Commitment to the ideas of perestroyka has become a must for nominating a candidate. It is improbable, but not of course impossible, that those who treat it negatively or coolly, will win broad support of voters. It is not by chance, therefore, that the most active and most popular advocates of perestroyka are among candidates for the Soviet parliament.

More on Sakharov Nomination

LD2701065789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Whose candidate is Academician Sakharov? KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA replies to this question for its readers today. Despite the fact that about 60 scientific institutues provisionally expressed their unambiguous desire to nominate Andrey Dmitriyevich as a candidate for people's deputy, at a session of the expanded presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR he did not get the necessary number of votes. The scientific societies of the Academy of Sciences also failed to nominate him. It emerged that Sakharov does not belong to any of these organizations.

However, his candidacy was examined at the national-territorial constituency of Moscow city No 1, RSFSR. The selection meeting held at the cinema house showed: 947 for, 0 against, 0 abstentions. The paper today quotes only a small part of the platform of the new candidate. In

his view, the construction of atomic power stations should take place under ground. It is necessary, the academician believes, to lift all restrictions on personal incomes, to legalize and support the ecology movement, and to hold elections with at least two candidates per seat.

Zaykov Presents Moscow Gorkom Report 20 Jan
PM2601143989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 89 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[TASS report: "The Capital's Communists Channel the Energy of Thoughts and Deeds Into Restructuring. From the 27th Moscow City Party Conference"]

[Text] Specific deeds in support of the CPSU's course of revolutionary restructuring and fundamental renewal of Soviet society—this is the active stance taken in life by Moscow Communists and all Muscovites. Ways to enhance the capital's contribution and to better utilize its vast economic and intellectual potential in this nationwide creative process are the topic of principled discussion among delegates to the 27th city report and election party conference which opened in the House of the Unions Hall of Columns 20 January.

Conference delegates and guests applauded the arrival of Comrades M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.A. Medvedev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, A.N. Yakovlev, A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, A.I. Lukyanov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, G.P. Razumovskiy, N.V. Talyzin, D.T. Yazov, O.D. Baklanov.

The presidium also included representatives of party, soviet, and social organizations, CPSU veterans, production front-rankers, scientific and cultural figures, and military leaders.

The following conference agenda was approved: Reports by the Moscow party gorkom and the Moscow city party organization's Auditing Commission; election of the party gorkom and the city party organization's control and auditing commission.

The Moscow party gorkom's report was delivered by L.N. Zaykov, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

The report and election campaign, L.N. Zaykov said, confirmed with renewed force the determination of the capital's Communists to firmly pursue the line of society's revolutionary transformation, launched by the party in April 1985. The essence of this line, the essence of restructuring itself at its present stage is to implement the plans, to translate into practical deeds the principled decisions made over the last few years by the party as a whole and by the Moscow city organization. Today the solution of all practical questions must be subordinated to work on restructuring, and all programs, individual measures, and the entire content and style of party work must conform with it. End results are the main criterion for evaluating Communists' activity.

It is especially important to emphasize this right now, when new developments in life are still closely intertwined with the old, when there is occasionally inexperience of work in rapidly changing conditions, when the working people's expectations of tangible and practical results from restructuring and its benefits for people are becoming stronger and more persistent with each passing day.

Communists and working people in the country, we all—when appraising the socioeconomic situation with utmost frankness—are unanimous on the main point: The party is master of the situation. Our movement forward has begun. Evidence of this can be seen in last year's results—the national income and labor productivity growth rates are higher than before. This clearly displays the results of the new economic thinking, of the party's bold strategy for national economic restructuring.

Work on this vast scale demanded, without any exaggeration, the utmost exertion of all of society's material potential. And yet the party chose this complex historical moment for a decisive social reorientation of the Soviet economy. The country has managed to find resources to boost medicine and education, it has sought out additional opportunities to ensure the steady growth of housing construction.

A tendency toward improvements has also emerged in these most important spheres. The production of a number of commodities and foodstuffs and the sale of services to the population have increased somewhat. These are real steps in restructuring which people have noticed, and it is incumbent on us Communists to translate them into a confident and onward advance.

In the new and complex conditions of economic accountability and self-financing, millions of people are persistently learning to act as befits people who are masters of their country and their destiny. Hence the extremely principled assessment of what has been achieved: We could have achieved more than has been done hitherto in order to change the situation more decisively for the better. The people know that this can be done only along the path of restructuring on which we have embarked at the party's initiative.

The achievement of the goals set in the economic and social spheres is impossible without a renewed and profound reform of the political system. This unity of approaches alone is capable of fully revealing the potential of socialist democracy and involving the whole people in the transformative processes whose irreversibility they advocate with the utmost certainty.

Look at the amazing changes in the political and moral atmosphere in our society, especially since the 19th party conference. The nationwide determination to implement its directives has imparted purpose, depth, and dynamism to restructuring.

There has been an immeasurable growth of the party's role as political vanguard of the Soviet people building their strong and rich socialist rule-of-law state. We are aware of the responsible role assigned to the Moscow city party organization, one of the party's largest and most authoritative organizations, for the fate of restructuring.

Moscow's importance is determined by the mighty intellectual, scientific, and industrial potential concentrated here, by the large-scale tasks of economic and social development being resolved by Muscovites. The attention given by the Central Committee and the entire country to Moscow as our motherland's political center and to the way matters here progress makes it incumbent on us to evaluate the results of our work even more critically, to reveal existing problems and shortcomings boldly, and to seek out and bring into operation persistently the considerable reserves and potential at the city's disposal. So it is perfectly logical for the city's Communists to feel today an acute sense of dissatisfaction with what has been achieved.

During the period of stagnation, an atmosphere deprived of the oxygen of democracy and glasnost and saturated with ostentation, window dressing, and dual morality penetrated all pores of the city organism and led to the buildup of a vast number of problems demanding immediate solution in the capital. This was openly and bluntly said at the previous, 26th city party conference.

That conference, held in a spirit of principled demandingness and implacability, adopted an expanded program for action to fundamentally improve the situation within the city party organization and outlined a range of paramount socioeconomic problems that we had to work to resolve. What had to be done first and foremost was to break the shackles of social apathy, awaken creative energy, and orient people toward creative and intensive labor.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo actively supported this stance taken by the city conference and adopted a resolution on the basis of its results. Priority avenues for the city's socioeconomic development were defined. A good start was made and Muscovites actively joined in work to implement this course.

But at that time the party gorkom bureau lacked the skill to engage in painstaking, systematic, and consistent work. The result of the attempt to solve all problems in one fell swoop, on the march, was that party and soviet organs were increasingly bogged down in routine work while the gorkom lacked both the wisdom and the courage to face up to the truth.

Large promises without any economic substantiation, like, for example, those to create ideal working and living conditions in every one of Moscow's enterprises within 2 years, to put an end to communal apartments, and to renew the entire material and technical base of transportation, health care services, and the trade network proved simply unrealistic. There were 26 programs for the development of the city's economy, correct in their conception and orientation, but they were not interlinked, they did not combine territorial and sectoral interests, and they were not based on scientific elaboration or on real economic possibilities.

And even though a lot was said, as in the past, about the need to affirm collegiality and democratism in work, the party gorkom bureau and its secretaries were sliding more and more toward willful methods of leadership. The inability to deliver what had been promised led to yet another shake-up of cadres, stifled initiative, generated a sense of uncertainty among party and soviet leaders, and essentially resulted in bringing restructuring in the city to a standstill.

The Moscow CPSU Gorkom 11 November 1987 Plenum, in whose work many of our conference delegates took part, drew the necessary conclusions from the harsh lessons of the distortion of restructuring policy in Moscow. The gorkom members unanimously condemned the unhelpful style of leadership which ran contrary to the meaning of restructuring, the lack of collegiality and consultation with the party aktiv and party raykoms, and the divergence between word and action.

It was unambiguously and firmly said that any underestimation of realities and any leaps over stages of restructuring are impermissible. The plenum emphasized that the essence of party work lies in relying on the masses, not in playing up to them.

The plenum participants declared that the Moscow city party organization had been and would remain the party Central Committee's reliable mainstay in the exceptionally complex work on our society's restructuring. Practical action by the city's Communists last year proved that these were no empty words. Moscow's working class and intelligentsia worked hard on the implementation of the program for society's renewal as elaborated by the party.

One of the important results of the initial years of restructuring, the speaker went on to say, is the sharp upsurge of people's social and political activeness. The all-union party conference led us to a new level in interpreting the processes of restructuring, with its innovatively creative spirit and the scope and boldness of its political decisions.

The conference's ideas laid reliable foundations for ensuring that party committees master political methods of leadership, and it created the necessary prerequisites for expanding democracy and glasnost, establishing new

mutual relations with soviet and economic organs, and separating their functions. These ideas roused the masses to struggle against bureaucracy.

The city's party collectives are showing more political sense, professional efficiency, and practicality, and this was demonstrated during the report and election campaign. This campaign demonstrated the extremely rich potential for thought and action at the disposal of the capital's party organization.

More than 420,000 criticisms and constructive suggestions were made during the report and election campaign. Rayon conference produced about 4,500 of them, including over 200 addressed to the party gorkom and dozens addressed to the CPSU Central Committee.

It was important that the voice of nonparty comrades was heard loud and clear at the Communists' report and election meetings. This was a vivid manifestation of the primordial force awakened among the people by restructuring, of the desire and potential of each and every member of society to really join in implementing the party policy and feel genuine masters of the enterprise, rayon, city, and country.

The nomination of candidates for people's deputy and the atmosphere at election campaign meetings also testify that Muscovites are vitally interested in electing as deputies those who enjoy prestige among the people and stand firmly on the positions of socialist renewal, people who can think in a state fashion and are capable of upholding the political course approved by the Soviet people. The Central Committee address to the party and the Soviet people, which outlines the CPSU's political program for the election campaign, says it accurately and clearly: Restructuring must be protected, and the main point is to energetically and consistently advance it.

Restructuring, the 27th CPSU Congress emphasized, cannot even be imagined without radical change in the style of party work, without rethinking the party's new role in all spheres of society's life. During the period under review, while restoring on a contemporary basis Lenin's perception of the ways to build socialism, we noticeably advanced along the decisive avenue of renewing the party, strengthening the party organizations, and reviving their initiative and assertiveness.

This, as the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum noted, is the main point: After all, without restructuring party organizations and each and every Communist, the party will be unable to perform its historical mission of being the people's political vanguard. This is realized by party raykoms, whose activity shows a turn toward the solution of the problems that worry Muscovites—not only current but also long-term problems.

Furthermore, it is important to ensure that raykoms work with proper consideration for the specific nature of their territory, without copying each other, with emphasis on crucial tasks. There are numerous examples of restructuring the style of party work. The task is to ensure that the party leadership's new approaches to all aspects of the capital's life are adopted by every party organization, L.N. Zaykov emphasized.

The central task in the party gorkom's activity must be to further develop intraparty democracy and improve the selection, education, and placement of cadres. Affirmation of the principles of glasnost in cadre work and broad consultation with Communists and nonparty people when leaders are promoted make it possible to avoid mistakes, to bring forward genuine leaders capable of heading the collectives, and to achieve tangible practical results.

There are, the speaker said, quite a few such people in every rayon. During the report and election campaign they were entrusted with the leadership of primary party organizations, now they are being nominated as candidate people's deputies.

There is, however, something else that must also be perceived. Now that we have fully switched to the principle of leaders' being elected, we cannot allow principle to be replaced by narrow pragmatism, we cannot allow group interests to prevail over social interests, we cannot allow demagogues and careerists to force their way into leadership. The closest possible collaboration between party organizations and labor collective councils on cadre matters is now more important than ever before.

Lenin's demand—to be in thick of the masses, to know the mood of the masses, to act by persuasion and through the force of argument—still abides. This is the art of political leadership, especially in cadre work, L.N. Zaykov said.

The party Central Committee, he emphasized, raised the task of strictly adhering to unity of word and action as one of the fundamental principles of restructuring. We cannot allow the desire for change, which is truly the result of so much suffering among the people, to remain only partially satisfied. To brush aside people's specific suggestions would mean facing once more the danger of their losing their faith in the party organs' prestige and the effectiveness of their decisions.

The separation of management functions clearly defines the role and position of party, soviet, and economic organs. Virtually all the conditions for abandoning reciprocal supplanting and duplication of work have been created in Moscow, where central planning and economic institutions, banks, ministries, and departments are located.

The switch to new methods of economic management envisaged that ministries would focus their attention mainly on questions of scientific and technical progress and the pursuit of a uniform policy for sector development. But words again diverged from action, even though Moscow's enterprises should have provided the ministries with a test range to work out progressive forms of management and to test advanced techniques and technologies. Especially since a mighty scientific and technical potential is concentrated in the capital, where the majority of sectors' umbrella scientific centers are located. The 26th city party conference demanded that Communists in ministry leaderships and their party committees radically change their attitude to Moscow's industry. Unfortunately, it must be admitted that this decision has gone largely unfulfilled.

The "Red Book" of our city's declining and neglected enterprises unfortunately contains quite a few pages, and even whole chapters. It lists the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry's "Pamyati Revolyutsii 1905 Goda" and "Dinamo" plants, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry's Dernevskiy chemical plant, numerous shops and production units, and even leading enterprises like the Likhachev Motor Vehicles Plant, the "Serp i Molot" Plant, the No 1 State Bearings Plant, and a number of others.

There are no words to express the indignation caused by the technical situation and labor conditions at the USSR Ministry of Railways' Lyublinskiy machine foundry. Every year this plant receives more than 230,000 tonnes of metal and melting stock for processing, and more than 80 percent of its output is then shipped from Moscow to all corners of the country. The question is: Does our city really have surplus manpower, is everything in order as regards the ecological situation? Here is something that the USSR Gosplan and the USSR Gossnab can work on.

Nor can we be pleased with the extremely slow pace of withdrawal of nonspecialized enterprises outside the city limits. A national ecological program is now being elaborated. Moscow Gorispolkom and the recently created Moscow Committee for Protection of the Environment, jointly with ministries and departments, must complete as soon as possible the elaboration of proposals for the relocation or conversion of a number of enterprises and submit them for examination by the USSR Council of Ministers and inclusion in the 13th 5-Year Plan.

The speaker analyzed the state of affairs in all spheres of the city's life from positions of further strengthening consistency between intentions and specific action. He gave much attention to the state of affairs at the most important cultural projects and the problems of improving the capital's architectural appearance.

In order to achieve unity of word and action, a precise system for monitoring and organizing performance, based on further enhancement of responsibility for the assigned task, must be elaborated in all sectors of restructuring. Such a system, the speaker declared, is still lacking in the work of party raykoms, the party gorkom, and people's control organs in the city.

The paramount task of party committees is to ensure the strength and purity of party ranks. Even if there are only isolated cases of Communists' breaching the norms of morals and party ethics, this gives antirestructuring forces an excuse to attack the party and the policy of restructuring. The newly elected gorkom, relying on primary party organizations, must wage an implacable struggle to ensure Communists' strict adherence to statute demands, to ensure the party member's honest and pure image.

The speaker then went on to examine in detail progress in the implementation of economic reform. Speaking about Moscow, he said that the reform has given labor collectives the long-awaited opportunity to work autonomously, to overcome departmental barriers and petty tutelage, and therefore to mobilize additional incentives for boosting work efficiency. The investment policy is changing, and its emphasis today is on the retooling and reconstruction of enterprises, primarily in the machine building complex. Prime costs of output are declining, profitability of production is rising. The commissioning of fixed assets has been accelerated. In short, intensive factors of economic management are playing a growing role.

Output and labor productivity growth rates in the city's industry are stable and in excess of the 5-year plan targets set for this period. Contract discipline has been tightened. The deliveries plan fulfillment in 1988 reached 99.9 percent. The experimental basis of science is being strengthened, and this means that the pace of introducing the achievements of scientific and technical progress is being accelerated.

Moscow's scientists, designers, and workers put a lot of work into recent major achievements by Soviet science and technology like the development of the "Buran" space shuttle system using "Energiya," the world's most powerful booster rocket, the IL-96 and TU-204 modern airliners, the powerful "Elbrus" computer complexes, the new generation of metal cutting machine tools, and installations for the laser processing of metals.

The line of priority development for machine building and the national economy's electronization is being steadily pursued. Developments by Moscow institutes in the sphere of radio electronics and the development of rotary and rotary conveyor belts and of modern waste-free technologies are of unionwide importance. Scientists in the capital engaged in elaborating fundamental problems of nuclear physics, genetics, and medicine are in the forefront. The new economic mechanism is producing a steadily growing effect, and the rights and potential of labor collectives are really expanding.

L.N. Zaykov emphasized that the orientation toward people's needs is one of the party gorkom's main concerns. The effect of the years of neglect of the social sphere, he said, can still be felt, but a breakthrough is being achieved there too. The pace of housing construction has been accelerated. Despite all the complication, it is in line with the program for providing an individual home for every Muscovite family by the year 2000. Over 10 million square meters of housing area have been constructed against the 3-years target of 9.3 million. Compared with the previous 5-year plan period, the commissioning of kindergartens and of social, cultural, and consumer services facilities has doubled.

There are great hopes associated with the new general scheme for the management of the city's economy. Its purpose is to ensure the switch to predominantly economic methods of management, to simplify management links, to eliminate parallelism and duplication, and to cut back the numerical strength and costs of the management apparatus.

Everything was correctly conceived. But Moscow Gorispolkom was ill-prepared for the introduction of the new management scheme. It proves totally impossible for the system to function at full power, and it keeps breaking down.

The gorkom has stated its position: Moscow and all the rayons should switch, by way of an experiment, to new conditions for budget forming without changing mutual relations with the union and republic budgets. There is a pressing need to switch to economic relations between enterprises and soviets and to change the existing tax system so as to enable the city to solve its problems successfully.

But, just as in the past, the tenacity of the old management mechanism and its inordinate centralization push the city's leaders, soviet and party leaders alike, toward the administrative edict style and thus apply the brakes to the introduction of economic methods of management. And so the Moscow Gorispolkom chairman and his deputies have to play the part of "prodders" at construction sites and fruit distribution centers, almost personally taking charge of street sweeping operations and the unloading of freightcars.

Have such "methods" of leadership improved the appearance of streets, reduced the number of leaking roofs, or improved the trade network's operation? No, the state of the city's economy and the standard of services for Muscovites still cannot satisfy anyone.

The mighty force represented by the corps of city and rayon soviet deputies is still not fully operational. Just as before, the functions of legislative and of executive-administrative organs of power are confused.

The main and most acute question which perturbs every single citizen—and this is no exaggeration—is the progress in implementing the housing program. Estimates show that, taking into account changes in the composition of the capital's population, housing conditions have to be improved for almost 4 million persons. But rayispolkoms still have no idea where new construction will be sited, how many homes will undergo capital repairs, or exactly who will share the costs and to what extent. This means that the work is from the start under threat of being wrecked. Neither the Moscow City Soviet nor the party gorkom should let this happen; they have no right to let it happen.

An impressive volume of construction work on housing and on social, cultural, and consumer services projects is due to be performed by Moscow's construction industry workers in quake-damaged Leninakan. Fraternal international assistance will be urgently rendered to Armenia. But this should in no way affect the pace of fulfilling the capital's housing and social programs.

Little progress has been made in evicting [vyseleniye] the offices which have spread all over Moscow like octopus tentacles. It is perfectly legitimate to set the task of closing down institutions of no use to the economy in 1989-1990 and using the space thus vacated to house stores, cafes, and workshops which are so badly needed by the population.

Housing space is still being allocated without taking into account the rayons' opinion or the demographic situation. The power to allocate housing must be vested fully in the rayispolkoms, and workers' control must be involved in this work.

The report went on to analyze in equally full detail some questions of the development of city transport and the improvement of the ecological situation in the city.

It mentioned the urgent need to resolve questions concerning the improvement of food supplies for Muscovites. New capacities for the meat processing and dairy industry were commissioned during the 12th 5-Year Plan period. Nevertheless, the problem remains acute.

Supplying Moscow and Moscow Oblast, the speaker said, must be looked on as a single task. Steps must be taken to improve food supplies for residents in the Moscow region, making it largely possible to relieve them of frequent travel into Moscow to acquire prime necessities and thus to reduce the waiting lines from which Muscovites suffer. Much work has to be done to reconstruct and retool the bakery and the meat and dairy industries.

Despite the efforts that have been made, the situation is still under strain as regards supplying the population with the necessary consumer goods. Moreover, the output growth in retail price terms for many articles has been achieved through the production of expensive goods. Even some cooperatives are guilty of this.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo examined the entire package of questions concerning the regularization of prices for output by light industry and cooperatives, and measures are being taken which will make it possible to block unjustified cost increases for goods and services for the population and will create economic prerequisites encouraging enterprises and cooperatives to boost the output of cheap articles.

Speaking about ways to overcome the substantial shortcomings in the spheres of trade, public catering, and consumer services, the speaker declared: The time for admonition and warning is past. Nobody should harbor any doubts that the party gorkom and raykoms will sharply enhance the accountability of Communists to whom these most important sectors of work have been entrusted. Resolute struggle has got to be waged against those whom the people have dubbed "the trade mafia."

There will be full party support for the efforts made by trade unions to create a system of total workers' control and for the measures to protect consumers' interests. The activity of law enforcement organs along this avenue must be galvanized.

The report especially singled out the problems of health care services. The state of the material and technical base of hospitals and polyclinics and the standard of services to the population generate acute dissatisfaction among people. It is necessary to immediately "cure" our medicine itself. Protecting people's health is a matter of state importance, and therefore party concern for this sector must be constantly maintained at a high level.

The solution of problems in a multifaceted organism like Moscow's economy is possible only by interlinking sectoral and territorial interests. These are the objectives, the report noted, actually pursued by the "Progress-95" comprehensive territorial-sectoral program, whose elaboration is now nearing completion. Its implementation will make it possible to untangle many tight knots in the city's socioeconomic development.

Its main feature is the scientific and systematic approach to the solution of long-term and current tasks. It is based on accelerated introduction of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in all sectors of the economy. The program was elaborated all through 1988 under the leadership of scientists from the Academy of Sciences and scientists from the State Committee for Science and Technology and the USSR Gosplan. The important point was that its elaboration started from the bottom upward. This made it possible to achieve the best possible combination of the interests of enterprises, rayons, the city, and departments. Following examination and approval by the CPSU Central Committee and the government, it will underlie the 13th 5-Year Plan.

The party embarked on restructuring for the sake of people, and it is people who are implementing restructuring. Underestimation of the human factor's role caused heavy losses in the past. The falseness of past slogans, the unrestrained extolment of imaginary successes, and the pompousness of organized events used to cover up the paucity of content ideologically disarmed the party organizations and alienated the working man from management, the means of production, and the results of his own labor and of social labor.

The party and the Central Committee, the speaker said, had to find the courage and boldness to say this bluntly, to lead the country in the direction of radical revolutionary transformations. They affect millions of people, their interests, and all spheres of our life, they affect every family and every person. There are most complex processes now occurring in people's hearts and in public awareness, everything that is taking place in the country generates keen interest among and response in the people because it is a matter of the country's destiny, the destiny of present and future generations.

The nurturing of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook among Communists and all Muscovites assumes special importance in today's conditions, when an acute political struggle is being waged for people's minds and their stance on restructuring. It ever was and still remains the paramount task of party organizations and all ideological front workers.

It was from this angle that the report examined the activity of social scientists, propaganda workers, and seminar leaders—of all ideological cadres. Time itself has assigned to them the task of sharply raising the standards of knowledge and utilizing more efficient work methods.

The responsibility of the press and publishing houses is exceptionally great today. The journalists and writers have helped the party to stir the people, to rouse them for restructuring, to raise the standards of criticism, and to promote the importance of glasnost. The party greatly values the active participation by the capital's scientists and cultural figures in restructuring. It can be said without any exaggeration that the voice of Moscow's intelligentsia can be heard today all over the country.

Nonetheless, in the course of the report and election campaign many Communists demanded that the party gorkom raise the level of leadership of the mass media. It was not a question of cooling down or reducing the amount of criticism but of enhancing journalists' responsibility and the quality of their work, of blocking any sensationalism in assessments of our history and of today's phenomena.

The CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum, having approved the concept of restructuring secondary and higher education, brought to the forefront the tasks of finding an innovative approach to training, educating, and improving the computer literacy of young people. But the plenum decisions have yet to become a specific action program for many party organizations in schools,

vocational and technical schools, VUZ's, and public education management organs. The state of affairs in this sector must be effectively changed for the better.

During the period under review, the report noted, the party gorkom and raykoms gave much attention to work at places of residence. Nevertheless, we cannot help being alarmed at the emerging trend of organizing the work of people's education, self-education, and leisure on a strictly commercial basis. Muscovites are perplexed by the desire of a number of theaters and concert organizations which have switched to economic accountability to solve their problems exclusively by raising ticket prices. Especially in view of the fact that this commercialism is at times based on blatantly mediocre works. Some culture centers have taken the path of elitism and exclusiveness [zakrytost] and have scared off the young workers for whom they were actually set up.

Moscow's Communists are aware that much more remains to be done to ensure that the condition of Moscow's theaters, museums, exhibition halls, and parks is fully up to the high standards expected of a capital city. Thanks to the assistance and support from the Central Committee, there has been success in starting to move toward a solution of many questions relating to the cultural sphere's development.

Specifically, a decision was adopted to establish an all-union children's park in the Moskva River water meadows—in Nizhniye Mnevniki, which is one of the capital's most beautiful spots—and this will be a major gift to children from all over the country. It would seem appropriate for the Moscow Komsomol to assume sponsorship of the planning and construction of this park.

Party organizations have abandoned petty tutelage of the Komsomol, and that is correct. But there is something else that is impermissible—to leave the Komsomol and the growing generation without their elder comrades' support and attention.

We Communists are required to strengthen the link of time, the link between generations. The party gorkom recently held a moving meeting with party, war, and labor veterans. How profound was the conversation that ensued! What genuine interest in our current affairs, what desire to help restructuring were displayed by those people who have lived through years of harsh trials!

Many new social formations—the Culture Foundation, the V.I. Lenin Children's Foundation, the charity society, the consumers' society, women's councils, and the Council of Moscow Cooperative Members—recently started functioning in the capital in parallel with the War and Labor Veterans' Council. They play an active part in the renewal of our life and encourage the public to perform noble deeds.

It is, however, impossible to overlook the fact that extremists and nationalistically inclined individuals are not averse to taking advantage of the masses' awakened social activeness. There are also—and this must be bluntly said—those who preach antisocialist views. Moscow's Communists will continue, as in the past, to resolutely rebuff them.

Our state's innovative foreign policy, the Soviet Union's enhanced international prestige, and the major and bold initiatives aimed at sharply easing tension in military-political confrontation demand a serious change in the approach of party and society organs and social organizations toward work on the development of international ties. Recently there have been many new developments in relations with party organizations from the capitals of fraternal socialist countries.

In conclusion, L.N. Zaykov said:

Communists and primary party organizations are the soul of restructuring, they are its driving force. It is they who are in the vanguard of the struggle to strengthen the Land of the Soviets and to revive Lenin's concept of socialism. The democratization of party life has made it possible to sharply boost the activeness of all who are concerned with the future of restructuring.

Over the last 3 years the Moscow city party organization has been politically and organizationally reinforced, and its numerical strength has increased. Now it counts almost 1.2 million Communists in its ranks.

Its ranks have been swollen by people capable of giving a new quality to party work and boosting the militancy of all links, from party groups to the gorkom. This is a reliable guarantee that past mistakes will not be repeated, that Moscow's Communists will rise to the tasks set by restructuring, especially now that preparation for the 28th CPSU Congress is starting to unfold [nachinayet razvertyvatsya].

To adhere to Lenin's behests means to improve socialism day by day. Lenin's brilliant ideas were the life-giving force which prompted and inspired the party to embark on restructuring. Our work, our future, and our destiny lie in restructuring.

Delegates then heard the report of the Moscow city CPSU organization auditing commission.

The debate on the reports began in an atmosphere of exactingness, principle, and party comradeship. No matter who took the floor—worker or scientist, party official or cultural figure—each and every one focused delegates' attention on the main point: how to augment the contribution of the capital's communists and all its working people to the solution of the tasks of restructuring, so that people are more fully aware of its specific results and more quickly experience the effect of changes for the better.

On behalf of the capital's Communists, delegates resolutely declared that the Moscow city party organization has been and will remain the party Central Committee's reliable mainstay in the struggle for our society's revolutionary renewal.

Commission on Repressions Studies Rehabilitation

PM2701121189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jan 89 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Politburo Commission for the Additional Study of Materials Linked With the Repressions of the 1930's-1940's and the Early 1950's"]

[Text] The latest session of the commission heard a report from the USSR Supreme Court on its examination of materials linked with the rehabilitation of people involved in the so-called "Jewish Antifascist Committee" case.

Like other public organizations and movements, the Jewish Antifascist Committee, which was set up during the Great Patriotic War, carried out active work to mobilize Soviet and world public opinion against the crimes of fascism.

At the end of 1948 the committee was disbanded and a large group of people associated with its work was arrested. A groundless accusation of crimes against the state and espionage served as the pretext for repressive measures. In July 1952 the USSR Supreme Court Military Collegium sentenced the leaders of the committee to the supreme penalty or long terms of imprisonment.

A check carried out in 1955 established that the charges against the members of the "Jewish Antifascist Committee" were fabricated. The USSR Supreme Court of 22 November 1955 examined the USSR prosecutor general's conclusions on the so-called "Jewish Antifascist Committee" case and revoked the sentence against all those convicted in this case.

At the same time S.A. Lozovskiy, I.S. Fefer, I.S. Yuzefovich, L.M. Kvitko, P.D. Markish, E.I. Teumin, S.L. Bregman (posthumously), and L.S. Shtern were reinstated in the CPSU.

The results of the judicial and party rehabilitation were not made public at the time. Having examined the USSR Supreme Court's report, the commission deemed it necessary to publish this announcement.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee's decision on reinstating B.A. Shimeliovich and D.N. Gofshteyn (posthumously) in the party was noted.

The Politburo commission is continuing its work.

Vezirov, Volskiy Meet To Discuss NKAO Issues

LD2601153589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1459 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Baku, 26 Jan (TASS)—A meeting was held in Baku today between Abdul-Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan, and Arkadiy Volskiy, chairman of the special administration committee of the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast], head of a department of the CPSU Central Committee.

Questions of normalizing the situation in the NKAO of the Azerbaijani SSR and fulfilling the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on the socioeconomic development of the autonomous oblast and improving amenities of villages and rayon centers were examined.

The necessity of building up efforts to ensure the stable work of enterprises, sovkhozes, and kolkhozes, and establishing deeper economic management relations, which are of important significance for the NKAO and the republic as a whole, were noted.

Arkadiy Volskiy presented his thoughts about the measures being mapped out to implement the radical economic reform, the transformation of the oblast to financial autonomy, and the need for close interaction with republican bodies in tackling them. Questions of improving the administration of the oblast's economy, including the setting up of independent self-financing associations, were also thrashed out during the course of the meeting.

The importance of the speediest possible solution to such a key problem of improving interethnic relations as the return of settlers to their permanent places of residence, and also supplying them with employment, was emphasized.

Azerbaijan Party Bureau Views Interethnic Ties

NC2701072589 Baku Domestic Service in Armenian 1100 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] The Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has examined the results of the meeting held in Tbilisi on 23 January between the first secretaries of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the Transcaucasian republics. References were made to the process of implementing the decisions of the 19th all-union party conference. An exchange of views of an unprecedented type was held on the activities of the party organizations in the struggle being waged for the revolutionary transformation of society.

During the meeting, it was stressed that it is necessary to enhance the internationalist traditions of the working class and of the Communists of the Transcaucasia. The questions pertaining to perfecting interethnic relations in the region were discussed in all their aspects. Ways of

extending comprehensive assistance to the work of the special administrations in Azerbaijan and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast were also discussed. The importance of a speedy solution of the problem of returning displaced persons to their place of permanent residence was stressed in particular.

It was decided to take complementary measures concerning the efforts to eliminate the aftermath of the earthquake in Armenia.

Giving consent to the results of the meeting, the bureau assigned the Central Committee departments and the republic's Council of Ministers to take [word indistinct] measures to execute the [word indistinct] compact [word indistinct] submitted. It instructed the party, soviet, and economic bodies, trade unions, and Komsomol and creative organizations to strengthen efforts pertaining to the re-emergence of the friendly traditions between the brotherly republics of Transcaucasia and to broaden and reinforce internationalist ties.

Special attention was focused on the fact that it is necessary to deepen the social, political, economic, and moral ties between the collectives, cities, regions, and, primarily, between the neighbors.

Armenian Rayon Appeals for Return of Azerbaijanis
NC2701085289 Baku Domestic Service in Armenian 1100 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Appeal issued by Gukarkskiy Raykom and Rayispolkom of the Armenian SSR]

[Text] Dear Azerbaijani brothers: At the end of the previous year, the relations between the representatives of the two fraternal peoples were (?severed), which of course is detrimental to their interests. This complex situation was disrupting the progress of our nations and was inflicting serious blows on the centuries-old friendship between the two fraternal peoples. As a result of this [word indistinct], the Armenians moved from Azerbaijan and the Azerbaijanis from Armenia. The situation worsened even more as a result of the destructive earthquake.

Dear brothers, it is time for [words indistinct] resolute and sustained attempt to eliminate [word indistinct], to reestablish [word indistinct], and to strengthen good-neighborly relations.

The raykom and the rayispolkom call on you, the Azerbaijani population of Gukarkskiy Rayon who have resettled in the (?Khachmasskiy) Rayon of Azerbaijan, to return to your native villages, to rekindle your hearths, to receive your necessary and full financial compensation as a result of the earthquake, and to enter into the pace of a peaceful life. So far, more than 1,000 Azerbaijanis have returned to their native villages. We are taking all the measures to ensure their security, and we are extending the necessary assistance to revive their economies and to reestablish them in their permanent places of residence.

[Signed] The Gukarkskiy Raykom and the Gukarkskiy Rayispolkom of Armenian.

Batalin Arrives in Armenia, Inspects Construction
NC2601124389 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0300 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] The technological [word indistinct] for cement production being set up in Arafat will play an important role in the provision of building materials, in particular cement, for the construction workers engaged in the reconstruction of our cities and villages that were destroyed in the earthquake.

What [word indistinct] that important industrial project, what are the difficulties faced in its production units, and when will it be completed?

With the aim of clarifying these questions on the spot, Yuriy Batalin, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the CPSU, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and member of the Politburo Commission of the Central Committee of the CPSU on Armenian quake relief arrived here yesterday. The members of the commission toured the construction sites, acquainted themselves with the overall construction process, conversed with the workers, and showed interest in their working and living conditions. After that, a consultative meeting was held with the participation of the directors of the supervisory departments of the ministries and representatives of the technical-engineering workers connected with construction. Reports were presented on the progress of construction by (Yuriy Bilov), chief director of the Arafat cement unit; (Astghik Karapetyan), director of the Arafat (Artshin) Trust; Velekov, USSR deputy minister for building materials production; and others.

Summarizing the consultations, Comrade Batalin pointed out that at the present stage of reconstruction in the difficult terrain, no less than 3.5 million tonnes of cement are required and that a substantial part of it—almost 2 million tonnes—should be produced by the Arafat cement production unit. It was decided to (?bring forward) the deadline for the operation of the new technological [word indistinct] for cement production and to put it into operation in June this year.

Armenian Evacuees, Donations, Reconstruction
NC2601124689 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0300 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] The press center of the information department of the USSR Council of Ministers has informed us that, according to 24 January figures of the republican commission on the elimination of the aftermath of the

earthquake, no victims have been recovered from the debris in the damaged settlements, no deaths have been registered in the hospitals, and no hospitalization cases have been recorded.

So far, 9,988 victims have undergone and completed medical treatment; 1976 are still undergoing medical care in the hospitals. Of the 117,000 evacuated from the disaster areas so far, 72,032 are in the various health resorts, hospices, and sanatoria of the country. Yesterday seven airplanes arrived in the republic, one of which was from abroad. The sum transferred into the aid fund for the victims increased by R11 million and reached R1,136,000. Some R168,000—at free convertibility value—and R36,000 worth of goods were received from abroad yesterday. So far, the value of all kinds of aid received amounts to R12,675,000.

By 24 January, technical capacity had been enhanced by (?59) more pulleys, excavators, heavy duty trucks, and bulldozers. At present nearly 8,650 units of technical equipment have been put at the disposal of construction workers in the disaster area. The number of the prefabricated houses reached 7,575, of which 240 were received yesterday. The rail workers unloaded 1,703 rail cars, out of 2,844 on line, yesterday.

According to the figures of the republic's Finance Ministry, an additional R800,000 were given to the victims in compensation and temporary aid; the overall figures exceed R311 million.

The removal of debris from the damaged settlements continued yesterday. So far 600,000 cubic meters of rubble have been removed. The sifting of metal from the debris is continuing; it will be handed over to the state as raw material and will be reprocessed. Already, 120 rail-car loads of metal scrap have been [word indistinct] and removed.

The health and epidemiological situation in the disaster area is (?normal).

U.S. Experts Report on Armenian Quake Lessons

PM2601153389 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Jan 89 p 3

[TASS report: "Lessons From the Earthquake"]

[Text] New York, 25 Jan—A briefing was given in New York on Tuesday on the results of a visit by a group of American scientists to the earthquake region in Armenia.

According to Robert Ketter, director of the national center for research into the effects of earthquakes, appropriate lessons should be drawn from the events in Armenia. He said that scientists at his center are prepared to cooperate extensively with Soviet specialists in this sphere.

Frederick Krimgold [name as published], a major specialist on rescue operations, noted that the local authorities had given their group full assistance. The rescue operation work had been made more difficult by the nature of the devastation and also the scale, Krimgold said. According to him, equipment they took with them from the United States often proved ill-adapted for carrying out rapid rescue operations. And the type of construction of the buildings in the disaster zone offered little hope of rescuing people from beneath the ruins. Precisely this factor was responsible for the high casualty figures, he pointed out.

Rescue operation work in this kind of natural disaster region requires maximum efficiency, according to Eric Nodzhi [name as published], who gave medical assistance to Armenian earthquake victims. The first 24-48 hours are critical. It was in the first two days that 85-95 percent of all the people rescued in Armenia were pulled from beneath the ruins.

It was suggested during the briefing that an international agreement be concluded on giving assistance in the event of large-scale natural disasters, so that specially trained rescue operation groups from different countries could be given every opportunity to go to the scene of a disaster as quickly as possible without obstruction.

Tajikistan, Turkmenistan Plenary Sessions Held

LD2701000889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Plenary sessions of party organizations of two republics—Tajikistan and Turkmenistan—were held today.

Communists who gathered in Dushanbe analyzed questions connected with the food supplies. The problem was examined on the example of Isfara city party committee where they have not been able to achieve essential changes. The need to introduce leasing out management forms was stressed. Progress in preparing for elections of USSR people's deputies was also examined. The plenum adopted a decision to change the structure of the party apparatus and set up a Central Committee commission for the basic directions of party work.

Results of reporting back and elections of party organizations were examined today by Communists at the plenum of the Central Committee in Ashkhabad. It was noted that despite some improvement in the work conservative mood, red tape and indifferent attitude toward people are being overcome slowly.

A question, which was examined today, about the election of a secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan which was conducted on a competition basis was a proof of the expansion of democracy and glasnost. There were two candidates: (?Ashirov), first secretary of Tadzherskiy Rayon party committee; and Sakhat Muradov, first secretary of

the Karakumskiy Rayon party committee. They presented their programs and after an all-round examination preference was given to Sakhat Muradov.

The plenary sessions were addressed by their respective first secretaries—in Dushanbe by Makhkamov, first secretary of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee, and in Ashkhabad by Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmenistan Communist Party Central Committee.

Tajik Organizational Issues

LD2701132589 Dushanbe Domestic Service in Tadzhik 1700 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Excerpts] A Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held in Dushanbe on 26 January. Participants in the plenum observed 1-minute's silence for the earthquake victims in Gissar Rayon. [passage omitted]

The following issues were discussed: organization and political work by the Isfara party gorkom on increasing the production of foodstuff; changing the structure of the republican party committees' apparatus; organizational issues.

A report on the first item was presented by Savriddinova, first secretary of the Isfara party gorkom. Makhkamov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee, made a speech at the plenum.

A resolution was adopted on the establishment of commissions of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee on nationalities relations, on party and cadre organizational work, an ideological commission, commissions on socioeconomic issues, on legal issues and on the agro-industrial complex. The list of the composition of the commissions will be published in the press.

The plenum discussed organizational issues. Aslanov, who was first deputy chairman of the Tajik SSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, was elected secretary and member of the Bureau of the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee by a secret ballot.

Koshlakov, candidate member of the bureau of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee and first deputy chairman of the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers, was elected member of the Bureau of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee by a secret ballot.

Karimov, first secretary of the Dushanbe party gorkom, was elected member of the Central Committee and candidate member of the Bureau of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee by a secret ballot.

Yakubov, first secretary of the Tajikistan Komsomol Central Committee, was elected as member of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee by a secret ballot.

In view of changes in the structure of the apparatus of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee and transfers to other work, the plenum relieved the following from their duties:

Kayumov, head of Foreign Relations Department: Yuldashov, head of the Culture Department; Nazirov, head of the construction and Municipal Services Department; Olamov, head of the Transport and Communications Department; Omarov, head of the Science and Education Institutions Department; Kamilov, head of the Industry Department; Abdudzhabarov, head of the Water Resources and Rural Construction Department; Abdurakhmanova, head of the Light Industry and Consumer Goods Department.

The following were (?elected): Sukhov as head of the Organizational Party Work Department; Ashurov, head of the ideology department; Karakulov, head of the agriculture and Food Industry Department; Gafarov, head of the Economic Department; Khuvaydullayev, head of the State and Legal Department; and Salimkova, head of the General Department of the Tajikistan Communist Party Central Committee.

Khalimov and Alimov were relieved from their duties as member of the Bureau of the Tajikstan Communist Party Central Committee and as candidate member of the Central Committee Bureau, respectively.

The plenum removed [name indistinct] from the composition of the Central Committee in accordance with his request and upon his leaving the republic.

The plenum was attended by [name indistinct], head of sector of party building and cadre building of the CPSU Central Committee. [as heard]

The plenum then ended. A report on the plenum will be published in the press.

Vedernikov Tours Tajikistan Quake-Stricken Area

LD2601232589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 26 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video-report by correspondent M. Nikulin in Tajikistan, identified by scree caption]

[Text] [Nikulin] Comrade Vedernikov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is in Tajikistan, today arrived in the earthquake-stricken areas. Together with members of the Communist Party of Tajikistan Central Committee Bureau Commission on eliminating the consequences of the natural disaster he visited the settlement of Sharor in Gissar rayon where a landslide that occurred as a result of the force 7 earthquake covered more than 60 houses. Part of the large settlement has been completely buried under a layer of clay many meters deep. There is no hope that anyone

remained alive under this mass. The republic's government has supported the proposal by the inhabitants of Gissar Rayon that a communal graveyard be created at the site of the former settlement. A new modern residential settlement of Sharor will be built not far from this sorrowful place.

Gennadiy Georgiyevich Vedernikov also visited the mountain villages of Okuli-Poyen and Okuli-Bolo that are situated at the epicenter of the earthquake. The underground tremors proved devastating for several hundred rural workers' holdings. Here too on that tragic morning many lives were lost. [video shows Vedernikov touring earthquake area; video also shows heaps of mud and devastated buildings; Vedernikov seen talking to camera]

[Vedernikov] There has of course been great devastation, and all of this needs to be restored where possible if scientists permit it on the site. It seems to me that the first thing that must be done is to tackle the purely day-to-day questions of feeding people and deciding where to settle them. There will probably be a requirement here—as the republic's leaders are saying and as I see it—for mobile homes. How Many? Maybe 500, 600 or 700—I do not know but this must be ascertained. Yurts are required for temporary accomodation. More decisions need to be made after consultations with scientists on where to restore and where to build new houses for example. This work must be quickly organized. Although this disaster is not on the same scale as the one in Armenia, it is nevertheless a big disaster for the people living here and also for the whole country.

[Nikulin] Just recently I had occasion to report from Dushanbe airport about the dispatch of goods and volunteer rescue workers to fraternal Armenia, which has been stricken by a strong earthquake. Now the opposite is happening. Aircraft have been landing at Dashanbe airport from Armenia, Kirghizia, Uzbekistan, and Moscow. Some are bringing goods for the inhabitants of the stricken villages and settlements of Tajikistan. Others are bringing detachments of rescue workers, who are immediately leaving for the disaster area to clear the obstructions and restore the devastated settlements. A saying in the Orient is that a bird's strength is in its wings and a human being's strength lies in friendship. [video shows aircraft at the airport and rescue workers arriving]

Tajik Earthquake Rescue Work, Damage Assessments

***Medical Relief, Physical Damages**
WA1830026Ia Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jan 89 p 1

[Article by O. Latifi (Tajik SSR): "In Gissar After the Disaster"]

[Text]Yesterday PRAVDA reported a tragedy caused by the underground elements in the Gissar Valley of Tajikistan. Rescue work is continuing in the region of the disaster.

A group of physicians has arrived in Dushanbe from Moscow. Along with their Tajik colleagues they are rendering assistance to those who were hospitalized today. Dozens of wounded have been sent to the hospitals. Self-sacrificing work is being done in the emergency room of clinical hospital No 3.

Buried villages are being dug out. Restoration work is being done. Electric power is being brought in everywhere through the reserve lines. In places where there are no communications field radios have been installed so that it is possible to regulate and direct the work of the rescue services and those providing assistance. Contributions from the population and labor collectives are coming in to the republic branch of the Zhilsotsbank.

...In a helicopter with a crew consisting of A. Idrisov, V. Boyko, and N. Glebov we are flying over the region of the disaster. The zone of the disaster in the picturesque Gissar Valley is not great but the picture is terrible. Hills turned up by the underground shock have fallen down over settlements, fields, and gardens like ocean waves. Now they are still. Like sunken ships, the rooves of intact houses, schools, a hospital, and business buildings jut out from the abyss of the current of dirt. Paths of boards and straw lead up to them and rescue work is in progress.

I asked the deputy director of the Tajik Institute of Earthquake Resistant Construction and Seismology of the republic Academy of Sciences, K. Mirzayev, to comment on what had transpired in the deep Elak fault.

"I wish to say this at the outset," noted K. Mirzayev. "The Elak fault has largely lost its energy and there is no danger of more underground tremors here. Now about why the hills moved. In addition to the geomorphology, the steep slopes of the relief, and the techtonics, there is such a phenomenon whereby high-frequency tremors break down the loess rock, and they, losing their structural stability, break off and fall downward. The process of weakening of this earth is greatly intensified under the influence of moisture. Thus in 1969 when there was a great deal of precipitation there were more than 3,500 landslides and cave-ins in the republic. The numerous springs also played a fateful role in this same region. Apparently they 'soaked through' to the deep strata. But hydrogeologists know more about this—they have complete information about all the surface outlets from underground springs. Naturally, the constant seismographic phenomena—and they are frequent here—interacting with the movement of underground water sources, give a special character to earthquakes in our republic. This is what happened in the Gissar Valley. Were it not for the flow of mud, the tragedy would not have been so terrible. After all, in the zone of the destruction the underground tremors registered a bit more than 6 points."

The damage caused by the earthquake is discussed by the first deputy chairman of the Tajik SSR Council of Ministers, G. Koshlakov:

"Of course the most irreplaceable losses are people. A large number of children died, for, as a rule, we have large families with many children. The material damage was also significant. According to preliminary calculations, it amounted to about 11-12 million rubles."

At first glance it seems that nothing terrible has happened to many of the structures. But if you go inside you see a picture of destruction: the ceilings have caved in and the walls have been destroyed. There has been damage to many facilities of the Gissar Observatory. Five schools, a hospital, a maternity hospital, and more than 400 residential buildings were destroyed.

And, after all, the republic is still healing its wounds from the earthquakes in Dzhirgatal, Kayrakkum, and the Pamir.

It will be necessary to do an immense amount of work to inventory all of the structures. First of all in the zones for which there is a long-term prognosis. It is necessary to have a clear picture of the seismographic safety of residential buildings, facilities for social and cultural purposes, and business facilities. This will make it possible to take timely measures. And it will also be important to create a special voluntary service for work under extreme conditions: during earthquakes, avalanches, torrential rains, and the kinds of landslides we are now seeing in the Gissar area.

Rescue and restoration work has become efficient in the zone of the destruction, and all forces of the region as well as those aid detachments that have come from many places in the republic are operating smoothly.

*Water Supplies Damaged

WA1830026 1b Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jan 89 pp 1,6

[Article by A. Karpov (Tajik SSR): "A Day Later"]

[Text]Rescue work has already been in progress for 24 hours on the territory of the three kishlaks in Gissarskiy Rayon. A large quantity of technical equipment has been sent here from all the nearby rayons and oblasts of the republic and medical teams have not stopped working for a minute.

"During the time since the tragedy dozens of survivors have been brought out of the disaster zone. It is still difficult to give the precise number of fatalities," said the public health minister of Tajikistan, G. Pulatova. "There is a very large number of severely wounded and, unfortunately, quite a few cases where people who have been rescued from the wreckage die on the way to the hospital or on the operating table. The situation is extremely difficult...."

Help is coming from everywhere for those who were in the region of the catastrophe. The Dushanbe airport has already received two unscheduled aircraft loaded with medications from Moscow and Tashkent. The pain and sorrow of the loss of friends and relatives in remote Tajik kishlaks are shared by people in various parts of the country. The telephone of the Tajik SSR representative in Moscow never stops ringing. Muscovites are asking what help is needed and many are bringing warm clothing and money for those who are suffering.

"The main difficulty in the rescue work is that the underground tremors were started by landslides and the forcing of ground waters up to the surface," says the deputy chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, U. Usmanov.

The past day still does not make it possible to judge accurately the amount of material damage caused by the elements. One thing is clear: it is running up into the millions of rubles. The governmental commission for dealing with the consequences of the earthquake is continuing its work.

In order to render assistance in eliminating the consequences of the earthquake in the Tajik SSR, special account No 70030 has been opened up in the operations administration of the USSR Zhilsotsbank in Dushanbe. Voluntary cash donations are deposited in it.

Money is being received from all banking institutions of the USSR.

The board of the Soviet Peace Fund has resolved to donate 1 million rubles for rendering emergency assistance to the population of regions of Tajikistan that are suffering from the earthquake.

*Three Villages Partially Buried

WA1830026 1c Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 25 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by V. Yurlov (Tajik SSR): "Nobody Remained Out in the Open"]

[Text]The first cameramen who recorded the consequences of the earthquake in Tajikistan shown on central television do not give any idea of the tragedy of the situation. Within a couple of seconds the kishlak of Sharor was covered with a 15-meter layer of earth. A gigantic landslide more than 2 kilometers long and then another one exacerbated the tragedy that occurred at the epicenter of a 7-point earthquake. An immense muddy current rushed down at a time when everyone was still sleeping or had just been awakened by the extremely strong tremor of the underground elements. But there will be nobody who can discuss this. They all remained under the earth. Not even the tops of the tall Lombardy poplars could be seen.

Attempts were made to dig the people out. But a wet pillow of loess 15-20 meters thick, like concrete, filled everything in, making it a solid monolith of houses, gardens, people, and domestic animals. Old-timers from

nearby kishlaks asked members of the emergency commission not to begin digging people out in this area. Their decision was to let it be a common grave.

Three other kishlaks—Okulipoyen, Okulibolo, and Yakumimay—were only partially covered by the landslide. But even this was enough to destroy homes and light outbuildings, burying dozens of people underneath them. The precise number of victims is being determined. It is thought that it could reach 1,000.

An emergency government commission was created within an hour after the earthquake occurred in the republic. And even before that, within 15 minutes after the shock, Tajik medical workers had arrived at the scene. They had proved themselves in Armenia. Alas, their experience was put to work too quickly. After them came the rescue workers. By dawn it was clear that there was no shortage of people. Out of the kindness of their hearts, without any command, volunteers rushed there from Dushanbe, Gissar, and other population points.

Technical equipment was sent to the disaster area and people were given the necessary assistance. Field kitchens were unpacked and tables were set up right out in the open. Collapsible buildings and tents were delivered as needed. They were not unnecessary, although the majority of people who were left without rooves over their heads were taken in by their neighbors. Nobody spent this first terrible night after the earthquake out in the open.

The earthquake was weaker in the cities of the Gissar Valley—5-6 points. But there is also destruction here. It was mainly the older buildings that suffered. Buildings with modern construction withstood the shock. The extent of the disaster is immense. So far it is impossible to given even a rough estimate of the damage that was caused.

A press center has been created at the Tajik telegraph agency. People are calling in from all over the world. A large group of foreign journalists are arriving in Dushanbe.

Perez de Cuellar Cables Gorbachev on Quake

LD2601233989 Moscow TASS in English 1856 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] New York January 26 TASS—U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar has sent a telegram to Mikhail Gorbachev expressing condolences over the earthquake in Tajikistan. It points out that the office of the United Nations disaster relief coordinator is ready to provide support which will possibly be needed.

Lithuanian Priest Interview on 'Moral Fortitude'

LD2601122089 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 4 Dec 88 p 4

[Interview by TIESA correspondent Terese Pazusiene with Father Vaclovas Aliulis, council member, Seimas, Lithuanian Restructuring Movement; presidium member, Lithuanian Ethical Society "Ethos"; chairman, Lithuanian Diocesan Liturgical Commission, entitled: "Not To Mask Differences, But To Learn Tolerance;" date and place not given.]

[Text] (Question) I called you several months ago—since you were the only cleric among the presidium members of the Lithuanian Ethical Culture Society—and asked you to grant an interview with TIESA. That was a short time ago, however—in terms of events, there has been an avalanche. You have been elected to the "Sajudis" Seimas, along with eight other priests. We have not become accustomed as yet, to such active participation by the clergy in social action. What thoughts and feelings passed through your mind as you accepted this position?

(Answer) The Lithuanian Restructuring Movement (I would much rather call it Lithuanian Democratic Renewal Movement, since it will be needed even after the current restructuring has passed) is, to a large extent, a political movement—whereas I have never had any aspirations to, nor hopes for, involving myself in any kind of political activity. The Ecclesiastic Legal Code acknowledges the possibility of participation by the clergy in political and trade union activities only, in the event such participation is deemed vital by ecclisiastical authorities in protecting church rights or, as dictated by the welfare of society, in general. Our church authorities have decided such a situation does exist presently and gave permission and encouragement to those priests who wished to or were invited by the "Sajudis" members, to join "Sajudis" action, for the above mentioned reasons. I am determined to involve myself the least in direct current political affairs' questions. I will rather attempt to assist my colleague Seimas Council members by keeping them informed of the needs of individuals of all faiths and by supporting various efforts for nurturing tolerance (based on equality) among ourselves.

Nine of us Seimas members, who are priests, retain a vivid recollection of examples of priests who engaged in social action in earlier times. We are excited and feel an awakening of our sense of responsibility in knowing the people are placing great hope in the "Sajudis" Seimas even though it is not a government.

The Ethical Culture Society's range of action is more limited, but perhaps everyone is clearly aware of the fact that it is impossible for a society to suddenly rise up and flourish without renewing itself morally. Many among the faithful, as well as clergymen, sense the absence of a

more defined moral program in the "Sajudis" platform. This neglect will have to be picked up by "Ethos" special groups on temperance, sympathy and other social groups.

(Question) The establishment of the ethical culture society was a significant event. It is widely supported by the public. In other words, we understand decency is as vital to restructuring as the air we breathe is for us. All strata of society should seek it uniformly. However, it is also necessary to learn unity. What obstacles do you envision interfering with this objective of seeking to accomplish both of these goals concurrently?

(Answer) The most serious obstacle, especially among those who are powerful, is the "habit of playing toward one gate," either a lack of desire or ignorance on how to carry on a dialogue with individuals of other convictions, as with their equals. We, Catholics, will perhaps also need to learn tolerance in order to maintain a norm of justice, and not out of tactical necessity.

In spite of the fact that I am not formally representing the Lithuanian Catholic clergy nor the Catholic segment of society in general, I believe I can represent at least those segments—and believe me, they are in the majority—who believed in cooperating with people of various beliefs and are concerned with the nation's morality. I think the "Ethos" Society also wishes to cooperate with those people. Its activities must be based on a widely pluralistic base, taking into account various motives for nurturing ethics and morals, also including religious motives. It must not mask differences whenever they crop up, but must learn and teach tolerance among ourselves.

(Question) What instance in learning tolerance could you identify as the most important?

(Answer) In view of the fact that we are learning democracy following a 50-60 year lapse, we need to define the principles in our partnership and maintain them coscientiously.

(Question) What, in your opinion, today constitutes the greatest obstacle in cooperation between atheists and individuals with religious convictions?

(Answer) Insufficient insight into one another's way of thinking. It is generally assumed secular morality is autonomous, determined by the individuals themselves, whereas religious morality is dogmatic, dictated by a supernatural authority. Thus, one group muses: What sort of morality is yours since everything is dictated to you! The others counter: What kind of morality do you subscribe to, since you fail to recognize the supreme moral authority—God! By delving somewhat deeper, we will discover religious morality is not deemed as dictated in an authoritarian manner, nor is atheistic morality willfully devised, because, in the final analysis, fundamental moral tenets requirements stem from human nature and the general order of the universe. Take, for instance, respect for parents, respect for human life, dignity, honor and property, respect for human life sources and for the truth—all these have neither been fantasized by people, nor have they been forced upon them from the side, or from above. They simply exist in our nature, whence they nurture and protect us.

Let us attempt to push aside, momentarily, those deep-rooted stereotypes and penetrate into each other's way of thinking. It seems to me the non-religious brother is able to comprehend: My religious brother is not as blind a slave to authority (as he appears to me), because he listens to the same laws of human nature as I do, but he thinks human nature and its laws are derived from a creator. The religious individual should surmise: My non-religious brother, in listening to the precepts of human nature, is in the final analysis listening to the creator of this nature, although he does not know him.

When we all become aware of this, contempt which obstructs the uniform reinforcement of moral convictions that ennoble the individual, whether he is a believer or non-believer, will disappear from our midst. Cooperation is important for everyone concerned with the destiny of the nation and society, and because moral ills abound in society.

(Question) In order to overcome moral ills, one needs to perceive and to understand their causes. Which of these would you like to stress?

(Answer) I will ask you not to be angry at words spoken in candor. It seems to me a reckless instigation of atheism allowed for the spread of many ills: values were destroyed and no new values were taught. With this in mind, the entire meaning of atheist upbringing should be carefully thought out, since this subject still remains sensitive. During the visit, in September, of the distinguished visitor from Moscow, some of our high officials found it necessary to report their own diligent efforts along the front lines of atheism— in spite of the fact that they were reprimanded at one time for its failures. We observed this made no impression on the visitor and he did not devote a single word to this subject. The danger still remains, however, of some minor or higher officials, especially those in the education field, attempting to make up by means of atheist education or pressure their failure to acheive success by other means. A precept should be acknowledged that it is not permissible to destroy certain morals' foundations, if one is not certain of being able to inculcate new ones. In general, it is impermissible to destroy any moral principles, but only permitted to inculcate to the best of one's ability some that are positive.

(Question) What moral social evil do you encounter most frequently?

(Answer) Let me discuss one phenomenon, which is never mentioned by anyone.

Namely, there exists a lack of respect for parents and grandparents. Many middle-aged people have no respect for their elderly parents, because the school has instilled them with the idea that their parents were backward, since they were religious. In following the middle-aged group's footsteps, the grand-children also have no respect for their grandparents. Soon the other end of the stick reveals itself: Without having been taught respect for gray hair, and not having seen their parents show respect for their own parents,the young generation fails to respect the middle-aged generation; they fail to show respect not only for their "backward" grandparents, but also for their "progressive" fathers and mothers. Educators who failed to avoid anti-religious education will probably contradict me by saying they had taught the young people to "forgive" their elders for their backwardness, since they had grown up during times which were not as progressive as the current period. However, the children most often turned out just as I have described them.

This phenomenon can not be denied by means of any explanations since contra factum non datur argumentum (explanations are not valid when confronted by facts).

Therefore, both the Lithuanian Ethical Culture Society and the Lithuanian school, if they are truly concerned with the bringing up of decent, just, and morally good individuals, must not give priority to atheism in the face of morality but to the contrary, they must vitalize moral priority in their course of action, ahead of all other factors, such as: technology, ideology, and politics. Since no such general tendency exists currently, each conscientious educator should make that decision for himself.

On 2 July, 1962, the USSR Government ratified the Convention for Combatting Discriminatory Practices in Education and has pledged to adapt USSR education laws in conformance with it. Paragraph 5 of the convention provides for parents' right to choose and to establish schools according to their beliefs and also prohibits the subjecting of children to anti-religious or religious education against their parents wishes and religious convictions. This parental right must be consolidated within public education laws, as well as in practical life situations.

(Question) How can you depict the role of the clergy and the faithful at this stage of our life?

(Answer) Moral renewal of society demands a great deal from the faithful and the Christian community—namely, they are expected to reflect the Christian human ideal, as beautifully and realistically as possible, in their lives; they are also expected to value and support every effort toward decency, although it may not originate within our ranks.

(Question) You were in Rome quite recently. What was the reason for your visit and with what impressions did you return?

(Answer) My trip to Rome was to accompany Vilnius Archdiocesan Apostolic Administrator, Julijonas Steponavicius. I was in the pope's presence only briefly, but even with limited observation, I was amazed by the warmth and gentleness which seemed to emanate from the person of John Paul ii.

In addition, I came away with a very favorable impression of the personal contact with various Lithuanian men of science from countries all over the world who were attending the Lithuanian Catholic Academy of Science convention. They live in the spirit of Lithuania no less than we do!

Upon my return from Rome I was very impressed by the "Sajudis Convention" and the television's "Government Studio" program of 28 November, which stated that a visit to Lithuania by the holy father, was strictly his and the clergy's concern. We hope, therefore, to welcome the holy father to Vilnius, sometime in 1989 or 1990.

Of course, we will have the Cathedral blessed without waiting for this important visitor. Plans have been made for our cardinal and bishops to accomplish this on 2 February, the coming holy day of "Grabnycios." The Ministry of Culture and officials of the Museum of Art (under whose jurisdiction the Cathedral remained until now) are determined to complete the changes in the Cathedral's floor and to restore the frescoes in St. Casimir's Chapel. I wish to take this opportunity to appeal to all the dear faithful and supporters to exercise patience and to restrain themselves from attacking the Cathedral door. We need to accomplish this transfer in an orderly, quiet and dignified manner.

(Question) What pleases you the most upon your return?

(Answer) The facts indicating an awakening of personal and social conscience pleased me no less than the big changes. The "Sajudis" convention was greeted by the Catholic Women's Organization, "Caritas," which, in a motherly fashion, is taking upon itself the care of the yearning disabled youth and the poor. My heart was also touched by a modest news brief which appeared in the VAKARINES NAUJIENOS newspaper. It seems that some Vilnius University Medical School students and instructors, who are members of "Sajudis," have established on their own iniative the "Atjauta," (sympathy) Association, which is to provide free nursing and medical care for old and lonely people, in particular. I cannot visualize a more appropriate manifestation of our spiritual and moral renewal.

(Question) How do you evaluate the present situation?

(Answer) During recent weeks I have become anxious because of the tension that arose between "Sajudis," the government and some of the deputies. I think, however, there is no need for confrontation and I do not think it will continue.

In truth, the government and "Sajudis" are allies, even though at times they cause each other difficulties. When the scope and moral fortitude of "Sajudis" is joined to the government's power, good results can be achieved. From the humanism point of view, I would consider the rehabilitation of all deportees to be the most important fruit of such common achievement.

(Reporter) Thank you for the interview.

Komsomol Daily on Estonian Language Law

PM2601140189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 89 p 2

[Own correspondent I. Teterin dispatch: "A Precedent, or What Is Behind the Law on Language Adopted at 18 January Session of Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] Tallinn—Each problem has its prehistory. So does ours.

Long ago the ancient Greek philosopher Pythagoras said: "To learn about the customs of any people, seek first to learn their language."

The Estonian language is melodious; it has a singing quality reminiscent of the surge of the sea or the murmur of a brook in springtime. But here is a question that cannot be ignored: Why has the language not become a subject of study and the mode of communication with the indigenous population for most of the people who have come to Estonia from other republics?

I do not want to delve into theoretical questions in a newspaper article. However, it would be wrong not to mention that until very recently practical bilingualism was interpreted in a simplified, not to say simplistic, manner, even in scientific circles. In Estonia, too, emphasis was placed predominantly on Russian as the language of communication between nationalities. Numerous documents were adopted.

Let us not hide that at the mass-consciousness level in time even the very concept of bilingualism came to be regarded as relating to Estonians alone. In any event, official business in most party and state organs was increasingly conducted in Russian. It went so far that when in 1980 a festive meeting to mark the 40th anniversary of Soviet Estonia was held in Tallinn, not a single word in the national language rang out from the rostrum in the session hall.

Let me make myself perfectly clear. I consider it necessary to emphasize that even today in terms of its structural features and scope of application the Estonian language is rightly considered one of the most developed languages in the USSR. Why? Because the absolute majority of Estonian children still graduate from national schools. The standard of tuition in these schools is higher than at Russian-language educational establishments (suffice it to say that the length of study at Estonian schools is currently to 12 years). Furthermore, the Estonian language is a language of culture, education, and national communication. It can hardly be regarded as a "distortion" that 90 percent of Estonians today also speak Russian.

Figures indicate that Estonians and Russians, while living in the same republic, do not from an early age enjoy the same conditions for learning languages. For instance, at Estonian schools 1,200-1,300 hours of the syllabus are allocated for Russian language studies. Conversely, at Russian schools only half that time—600-700 hours—is allowed, and even then good use is not always made of this time.

The overall situation is as follows: Today only 30 percent of Russians living in the republic speak Estonian, 13 percent of them fluently.

The working group entrusted with the compilation of the draft law was headed by Enn Ply'droos, chairman of the republic Artists Union (a curious choice in itself, you will agree). And when it was published 30 October of last year, my personal view was that, alas, the draft was written in rather clumsy language, contained a mass of ambiguities, and—most importantly—made no mention of the role of the Russian language in the life of the republic.

It is therefore not surprising that the discussion of that first draft was simply removed from the agenda at the December session of the republic supreme soviet, to be replaced by a new draft. However, at the same time, a corresponding amendment to the republic constitution was adopted which established the role of the Estonian language as a state language. This confirmed that there was to be a language law. The only question was when, and what shape it would take?

A new round of nationwide debate began. In an atmosphere which was extremely politicized, there was no shortage of acrimonious counteraccusations by the rival camps. All kinds of arguments for and against were produced in the debate on the draft law! For instance, one respected academician, describing the first draft of the draft law, complained bitterly: "I am not happy with the text of the draft law compiled by Ply'droos. In it the Estonian language takes the part of a petitioner. This is inappropriate. It is politically wrong. The Estonian language should play the part of a liberal master." And at an International Movement conference which I happened to attend just a few days ago, I heard an entirely different claim: The law curbs the opportunities of the Russian-speaking population.

I have to add, however, that before the session the republic supreme soviet presidium received dozens of minutes from workers' meetings and thousands of letters containing amendments and proposals aimed at improving the draft law. Serious, thoughtful work was done, articles were redrafted, expanded, or re-edited. Finally the time came to adopt a definitive decision.

The result was: 204 votes "for," 50 "against," and 6 "abstentions."

Please note that by no means all the republic parliament deputies deemed it possible to accept responsibility for the adoption of the new law.

NONETHELESS, the language law was adopted. What does it represent?

The Estonian language is the subject of special attention and protection on the part of the state in Estonia. However, at the same time, the law clearly states that the status of the Estonian language as a state language cannot serve to detract from the rights of citizens whose native language is a language other than Estonian. The Russian language is described in the law as a language of union-wide communication and any private citizen in Estonia is guaranteed the possibility of conducting his affairs in Russian both at state institutions and at enterprises and organizations.

In other words, in a few years' time when all the articles of the law have entered into force (which will take between 1 and 4 years), all the commonplace conflicts based on lack of linguistic understanding should finally disappear. After all, mastery of both the Estonian and the Russian languages to a prescribed level will become obligatory in a whole series of professions. For instance, managers and staff in the service sphere, trade, and medical care will have to use the language in which they are addressed.

And so the law has been adopted. Laws, as is known, are not compiled for the purpose of being debated. Laws are written to be implemented. And therefore I will make no personal assessment of the law. Rather, let us give some thought to what might present problems during its implementation everywhere.

It is no secret that the new Law on Language will have a much greater impact on the Russian-speaking population in Estonia (I have already cited comparative figures on the Estonians' knowledge of Russian and the Russians' knowledge of Estonian). A legitimate question therefore arises: What, so to speak, is the republic's real potential for implementing such a complex and important language program?

Here is a very brief list of problems that may arise along the way to implementing the law on language. To avoid giving readers the impression that I have plucked them out of thin air, I will say that all these problems were publicly described by O.A. Soydla, deputy chairman of the republic government. First of all, there is a catastrophic shortage of Estonian language teachers—the short training period for this speciality at VUZ's is to be doubled. Furthermore there is a shortage of methodological guidance for teaching this subject and of corresponding textbooks and aids.

The situation as regards adult education is even worse. Yet, in view of the list of professions which require mastery of both languages, courses for 75,000-80,000 people will have to be organized. The most conservative estimates indicate that the number of existing language courses will have to be trebled or quadrupled. Many translators will be needed to enable various enterprises and institutions to conduct their correspondence. There are also purely technical problems.

Is it realistic to hope to accomplish all this within such a relatively short period? Let us wait and see.

As for you and me, let us agree: Knowledge of languages is indeed the best way toward the establishment of friendship and accord between peoples. And let us not forget that, strictly speaking, the law on language adopted at the Estonian Supreme Soviet session is only the first tentative step. Juridically speaking, it is a precedent. After all, legislation regulating the role and importance of languages in the life of our multinational country is needed at the all-union level too. So as to enable all people to freely develop their culture. And, of course, also to enable us to learn to understand each other even better, always mindful of the Bible story about the Tower of Babel.

Belorussian SSR Adopts Decision on 'Repressions'
LD2601143789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] The Council of Ministers of the Belorussian SSR has adopted a decision on immortalizing the memory of the victims of the mass repressions of 1937-41 in the Kurapaty tract of forest. A memorial will be erected there.

The Belorusskaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya publishing house will bring out a commemorative book. Scientists of the Academy of Sciences of the Belorussian SSR have been instructed to study from all aspects the causes and consequences of the mass repressions which took place in Belorussia in the years of Stalin's cult of personality.

Ligachev, Others Visit New Meat-Processing Plant
LD2701031389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Jan 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by correspondent Ye. Sinitsyn, identified by screen caption; passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] [Sinitsyn] This building rose in record time on the grounds of the Ministry of Construction of Petroleum and Gas Industry Enterprises URS [Workers Supplies Administration] base on the outskirts of Ramenskoye, near Moscow. Let us read what it is. [video shows protacabin structure; plate reading "sausage plant" by the door]

[Unidentified man] "The main or principal merit of this plant is that it can be assembled in a month. It is made up of seven blocs, each bloc being 3 by 12. Then we get

a modular structure. We, in the Soviet Union, have no modular structures. This is the first Soviet modular structure." [video shows the man talking to correspondent outside the portacabin]

[Sinitsyn] Presumably our chronically lagging meat-processing industry is soon going to get a different—softer—diagnosis. Although these plants are no good for a major city, they will be erected in small towns and large villages, in mining settlements, all in all in the most deprived places, where the shortage of meat is most felt. Here we get a tonne a shift. [video shows a cold room, workers cutting up carcasses, filling sausage skins]

Nevertheless, why is this plant attracting so much attention? Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, Viktor Petrovich Nikonov, ministers, deputy ministers, leading employees of Agroprom, Tsentrosoyuz [Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives] and Gossnab have arrived here. Is it not because, we could say, this is the first sign of a future line of similar modular construction plants? This year there will be 50 of them, while by the end of 1995, 1750, accompanied by continuing improvements in technology, which is precisely what is being discussed right now. [video shows Nikonov, Shcherbina, Ligachev, and Sizenko inside the plant, talking to men surrounding them]

[Ligachev] "And, by the way, I should say this straight out. I had a look and, you know, 36 employees at such a small enterprise is obvious waste. I am not reproaching you; I am talking about something different. I can see that we are dragging old technology into a new major undertaking."

[Unidentified man] "[Words indistinct] and then we will have 12-13 men instead of 36. Transfer everything to leasing..."

[Ligachev, interrupting] "That is true."

[Man] "...and that will be it."

[Ligachev] "No, that will not be it; it will not be it. Even under leasing you will have manual labor."

[Sinitsyn] Unfortunately, today the development, manufacture, and delivery of equipment for such small capacity plants is lagging behind without justification. This year alone some 700 units of 15 varieties of such equipment is to be delivered. There are also other problems. [video shows Ligachev and Shcherbina at table, facing a group of men in a small auditorium, including Sizenko]

[Ye.I. Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR Agroprom, identified by caption] "Those compact sewage treatment installations are for residential drainage. Here they would have to be reinforced, you see, otherwise the sanitary services (?will be wrecked)."

[Ligachev] "Why? Does that mean it is too dense?]

[Voices] "No. That is right."

[B.Ye. Shcherbina, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, identified by caption] "I think that the most important thing, of course, is the issues connected with the processes and the equipment for these processes. It seems to me that if we could get this task into a government order it would be getting solved in a more orderly manner and it would be getting solved within binding timescales and issues."

[Nikonov] "We should right away be working toward a future objective—that this is a comprehensive facility and it should be producing 2 or 3 kinds of sausage and 20 varieties of smoked products, and all the rest of it." [video shows Nikonov speaking]

[Ligachev] "We are all now actively involved in the preparation of provisions which should be elaborated by a party Central Committee plenum on the agrarian question. As you know, to this end a whole (?number) of meetings under the leadership of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has been held at the Central Committee, at the center and locally. A Politburo session took place a few days ago which again thoroughly examined the issues connected with the preparation for the Central Committee plenum on the agrarian question.

"That is one line—the preparation for the plenum. The second line is the practical implementation of today's, the current, tasks connected with increasing the production of foodstuffs for the country's population. I think that you and I are in fact today discussing one of the issues connected with the provision in particular of meat products for the population." [video shows Ligachev speaking]

[Sinitsyn] To conclude, here is a question: Can we call this plant a visible sign of restructuring? To my mind, out of modesty we should wait until it is multiplied manyfold. [video shows portacabin]

Further on 23 Jan News Conference on Nonfood Goods

PM2601114589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Goods Market: Status and Prospects"; see Moscow Television Service in Russian 23 January report on the news conference published in the 24 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 52]

[Text] The Soviet Government's attention is focused on saturating the market with nonfood goods. The situation here is very tense and difficult. The population's demand remains unsatisfied for almost all the main types of output. And this is when in the first 3 years of the 5-year plan the production of nonfood consumer goods increased more rapidly than envisaged by the 5-year plan. The measures which are being taken to get out of

the existing situation were described to Soviet and foreign correspondents 23 January at a press conference organized by the USSR Council of Ministers information department.

Addressing the journalists, A.P. Biryukova, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers bureau for social development, said that the leadership of the party and country sees the main reason for the aggravation of this situation in the fact that for many years there was a one-sided orientation toward the preferential growth of the means of production compared with the production of consumer years. For many decades investments in the economy's consumer sphere were considerably smaller than in the sector producing items for production and technology. Another reason has been the preferential growth of the population's monetary incomes compared with the growth of the production of goods and the rendering of paid services. From one 5-year plan to the next this imbalance is being intensified and unfortunately we have not yet succeeded in overcoming it. The unsatisfied demand for goods and services is in excess of R70 billion.

The next reason is that the positive solution of some questions often generates problems in other fields. In the current 5-year plan a considerably larger number of apartments are being commissioned every year than in previous 5-year plans. The construction of garden sheds has acquired mass dimensions. The present unsatisfied demand for furniture, television sets, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, and a number of other articles is to a considerable extent linked to this. The deterioration of the state of the market has also been influenced by the enforced reduction of the import of consumer goods, which has not been compensated by a corresponding increase in domestic production.

Dwelling on the USSR Government's short-term and long-term measures to resolve this urgent problem—one of the key tasks of restructuring—A.P. Biryukova said: We are directing our efforts primarily toward the far more effective use of the existing industrial potential. Here this affects not only enterprises of light industry but also enterprises of those sectors of the national economy for which the production of goods is not the main activity. Work is also developing on the creation of capacities for the production of goods. Alongside the construction of new enterprises, a large program has been outlined to reorient many of the sectors' existing shops and enterprises and those under construction to produce consumer goods.

The government recently decided to reorient about 300 enterprises and shops in sectors of the machine building, fuel and energy, and other national economic complexes to produce consumer goods. These are just the first steps and this work will continue to be extensively performed. I should like to note in particular that this process has affected not only the civil but also the defense sector of our economy. Defense enterprises have always produced many items for the people. Now they will produce even more.

Economic measures are also being taken. In particular to step up the interest of enterprises of heavy industry and the defense and other sectors in increasing production and improving quality, they have been allowed to keep all the profit obtained from the sale of goods produced over and above the previous year's level.

Light industry accounts for approximately ½ of the output of all nonfood goods. The USSR Council of Ministers has adopted an extensive program for retooling the sector. In 1991-1995 nearly twice the funds that were allocated in the current 5-year plan are to be allocated for these purposes. All enterprises of the defense sectors have been enlisted to create new types of equipment and to produce it for the enterprises' retooling and several dozen licenses have been bought. Despite currency difficulties, we have taken credits abroad, particularly in the FRG and Italy, for the purchase of modern equipment for the production of light industry and food industry goods. As a result of all these measures the production of Soviet consumer goods alone will increase by R18-20 billion in 1989 and in 1990 by R48 billion compared with 1988.

In saturating the market with goods and expanding paid services to the population, great importance is attached to enhancing the role of local organs of power, primarily in the republics, krays, and oblasts, A.P. Biryukova stressed. A very great deal will depend on their initiative. They now have the necessary legal and economic potential to resolve the tasks connected with this. The provisions on local economic accountability [khozraschet] and self management should play an important part in seeking out the necessary reserves.

The cooperatives are playing an increasingly marked role in saturating the market with goods. As of 1 January there were about 15,000 cooperatives in the country for the production of consumer goods, with 300,000 people working in them. Over the past year they have produced output worth R1 billion. There is every ground to suppose that in the long term cooperative enterprises will make up an entirely solid and economically important sector of our national economy.

In conclusion A.P. Biryukova emphasized that the elaboration of the concept of the country's economic and social development through the year 2005 has now entered the concluding stage. It provides for boosting the people's material well being to a qualitatively new level, including on the plane of goods consumption. For 1991-2005 it is planned to increase the production of consumer durables 150-200 percent, including an 80-100 percent increase in the production of light industry articles. Special attention will be paid to the production of goods on a par with the standard of leading foreign firms.

Answering questions about the role fo the country's defense complex in resolving social tasks, she noted that enterprises of this sector are already producing many consumer goods and are manufacturing equipment for the light and food industries. Among the 300 enterprises and shops which will be reoriented to the production of consumer goods a substantial proportion belong to the defense sector.

Answering a question about the rise in prices in the USSR, A.P. Biryukova replied that the country's statistical service is now preparing data on the prices index in the country. The information published in the Soviet press confirms the existence of a hidden, sometimes unjustified, increase in prices for a whole series of goods. Thus, compared with 1985 prices for light industry articles increased an average of 3-5 percent while for some goods they increased 17-18 percent. She reported that the USSR Council of Ministers recently adopted a resolution on measures to eliminate shortcomings in the existing practice of price formation. It is aimed primarily at halting the unjustified increase in retail prices for consumer goods produced by state enterprises and the increase in charges for services performed by state enterprises and for output for production and technical purposes. The same document defines measures in the field of the formation of prices for cooperatives' produce.

G.V. Dzis, deputy chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, and S.Ye. Sarukhanov, USSR deputy minister of trade, took part in the press conference.

Juveniles in Correctional Colony Cause 'Riot'

PM2601160189 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 22 Jan 89 p 4

[Own correspondent V. Noskov report under the "Reporting the Details" rubric: "What Happened in Arzamas"]

[Text] Gorkiy—In Gorkiy, Arzamas, and other Volga cities rumors are snowballing that there was a riot in one of the local prisons, that there were casualties, and that some criminals escaped. What really did happen?

V. Potapov, chief of the Gorkiy Internal Affairs Administration, says:

"In the Arzamas general-regime correctional-labor colony, where dangerous juvenile criminals are kept, a group of more than two dozen inmates broke into the isolation block, which housed seven people who had breached the internal regime. Initially they had wanted to free just the culprit R. Pershin, who had allegedly been unfairly punished. In fact his guilt was obvious: Without any reason he had refused to go to work; he had wanted to show his 'character.' This is the reason he was placed in isolation.

"But his friends, for whom he was the 'boss,' decided to curry favor with him and went too far. They attacked a colony worker who had just come on shift and took the keys from him. Then they released all those who were in the isolation block, broke the locks and doors and fled to the hostel, and locked themselves in one of the rooms.

"The administration was in shock. After all, this was one of the best colonies in the USSR MVD. I admit that I too was very surprised, that the inmates suddenly 'went wild' in this particular colony. An operations group led by Colonel Solomikhin was immediately sent there. P. Manyasev, the prosecutor for supervising the observance of laws in corrective-labor establishments, also went along with the group."

A. Solomikhin, chief of the correctional affairs administration, said:

"Although we arrived at the colony after midnight, the inmates were not asleep. I shall not deny that 'rows' in these establishments are severely punished. As a rule, this means additional time in prison. And, what is more, a substantial amount.

"When they found out that a commission had arrived, they quickly sent a delegation to us. They admitted that they were to blame and were willing to mend with their own hands everything they had broken in the isolation block. It is true that they also stated that some instructors are not always right, in their view, but that it is not possible to argue with them: They put you in isolation right away.

"It was agreed to sort everything out jointly in the morning. We also accepted their condition: No specific charges were to be filed against anyone for the time being.

"Next morning, as always, some of the inmates went to school, and the others went to work. We began to analyze the situation. But we soon heard the sound of glass in one of the hostels. The nocturnal transgressors had once again occupied the building and barricaded themselves in. It turned out that, without any reason, one of the instructors had detained three 'transgressors' before breakfast and had begun to establish their identity. No one had told him to do this. He detained the inmates for only a few minutes, but nonetheless a rumor started up—reprisals were being prepared.

"Emotions got the upper hand... The inmates started to smash the furniture in the buildings, wrecked musical instruments and books, and set fire to the bathhouse, school, and club.

"The colony territory had to be cordoned off by additional militia forces and people from Arzamas. Not a single administrator or inmate was killed or wounded. None of the convicts escaped. True, some have been transferred to the city of Bor, since it is still impossible to house all of them in the damaged buildings."

Yu. Shcherbakov, Gorkiy Oblast prosecutor:

"The population has no reason to worry. The clash in the colony has been quelled. Nobody has escaped or been injured. It is quite another matter that everything needs to be carefully studied and cleared up, and the real reason for the emergency ascertained. I am not going to prematurely construct versions and draw conclusions. The results of the investigation now under way will show who is right and who is guilty in this situation. Those who transgressed the law will answer for it."

New Restrictions on Cooperatives Debated

PM2501120589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 2

["IZVESTIYA Roundtable" chaired by E. Parkhomovskiy under the heading "What Specialists Say About the New Resolution on Cooperatives"; first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Just before the New Year, a USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Regulating Certain Types of Cooperative Activity in Accordance With the USSR Law 'On the Cooperative System in the USSR'" was published. It immediately attracted keen public attention. In the press and on television, people have claimed that the resolution is a psychological blow to the cooperative movement, that the law has hardly been passed and yet they are already amending it... Let us recall in this respect what the Law on the Cooperative System says about the mass media. "Using the mass media and other forms, the state creates the most favorable ideological preconditions for cooperative activity by everywhere ensuring a moral and psychological climate in which every cooperative member is aware that, by working in a cooperative, he is performing important, socially useful work and helping the state to solve the tasks of the country's economic development and satisfy the population's demand for goods and services." Not wishing to remain aloof from the tasks we have been set, we decided to discuss the questions that have arisen in society and so invited people who took part in preparing the resolution and people who can make an objective assessment of it to a "roundtable" discussion. Our guests were as follows: V. Antonenko, senior official of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development; N. Lapchenkov, deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Justice Economic Legislation Administration; N. Petrakov, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Doctor of Juridical Sciences T. Abova from the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute; and A. Konovalov, chairman of the Moscow City Cooperatives Council. Yu. Feofanov, I. Kruglyanskaya, and E. Parkhomovskiy took part in the session on behalf of the editorial office.

A. Konovalov was the first to speak.

A. Konovalov: We were alarmed by the resolution which is the subject of our discussion today. Why did they not consult us? With regard to the restrictions on medical cooperatives, for example.

A survey conducted in Moscow has shown that of all the people who have used the services of medical cooperatives, 98.7 percent rated these cooperatives positively. And 69 percent of citizens who have not availed themselves of these cooperatives gave them a positive rating. Of doctors questioned who do not work in cooperatives, 79 percent are in favor of medical cooperatives. But 83 percent of administrators questioned in the medical sphere said that they have a distinctly negative attitude to these cooperatives. So it seems that only the medical bureaucracy is opposed to them.

V. Antonenko: I also have the results of a public opinion poll. According to our figures, whereas in 1987 new types of cooperatives were not approved of by 33 percent of respondents, at the end of 1988 this figure had risen to 43 percent.

Yu. Feofanov: But do the authors of these letters not say what compelled them to go to a cooperative and why they were unable to buy the commodity they wanted or obtain the service they wanted in the state sector?

V. Antonenko: The authors of the letters are indignant over the numerous cases of blatant speculation, whereby cooperatives buy up various goods in the retail trade network and resell them at three times the original price. In particular, they see this as the explanation for the increased shortages in the state trade sector. People are also angered by the uncontrolled renting of video films and by cooperatives' publishing and concert activities. They are worried by the way cooperatives are adulterating certain medical preparations. The "Vitamin" Cooperative used to work in Moscow. It manufactured sea buckthorn oil and sold it to the public. Tests showed that the oil contained only 50 percent sea buckthorn—the remaining 50 percent was sunflower oil.

Yu. Feofanov: First of all, the subject of the resolution is not those cooperatives which "buy up and resell" but those which do not engage in this kind of activity. And as far as the sea buckthorn oil is concerned, fine, close this cooperative breaching the rules. But why close down everything connected with this branch of cooperative activity?

V. Antonenko: I believe this cooperative has now been closed down. But why open others with similar potential for deception? Who will keep an eye on them and check them out?

T. Abova: No pharmaceutical preparation can be sold unchecked. This also applies to cooperatives. The Ministry of Health is responsible for monitoring this. But instead of ensuring these safeguards and taking measures in every individual case, the Ministry of Health prefers that such cooperatives be denied the right to exist.

Departmental interest, whereby departments raise issues with the Council of Ministers which they ought to solve themselves, is clearly apparent in some of the new prohibitions we are discussing today.

And the second question: What new circumstances prompted the introduction of the new prohibitions in cooperatives' activity?

V. Antonenko: We received a stream of letters demanding that cooperatives be called to order. I must say that the resolution was drafted very carefully. Specialists from the Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development, the USSR Ministry of Justice, USSR Prosecutor's Office, USSR MVD, and other interested ministries and departments worked on it. There were also specialists, of course, from the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Culture, and State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade... The document was really painfully thrashed out. There were a lot of arguments and differences of opinion, but all were unanimous that such a document was needed. Including the councils of ministers of the union republics.

T. Abova: But was there even one scientist in the working group?

V. Antonenko. Yes, there were scientists too. But we did not agree with all their ideas.

Yu. Feofanov: But the ideas put forward by scientists could have protected against departmental errors.

T. Abova: That is what we must talk about today. Departmentalism in statewide affairs.

Yu. Feofanov: And also about whether this is an opportune moment to amend a law that has only just been passed. In 5 years' time, say, when both the cooperatives themselves and people's faith in them are stronger, we could perhaps start thinking about further improving the law.

A. Konovalov: While it is possible to argue about Appendix 1, which broadens the list of prohibitions affecting cooperative activity, it would be difficult to argue about Appendix 2. It is clearly at variance with the law, which indicates that cooperatives and the state sector have equal rights.

V. Antonenko: But there is no question of any inequality in the resolution. The monitoring of cooperatives by state enterprises certainly does not imply any inequality. It has simply become obvious that, in a number of cases, we cannot manage without this kind of monitoring.

T. Abova: Nothing could become obvious in such a short time—July-December. Still less that monitoring can be compatible with equality. Article 32 of the Law on the Cooperative System says that state organs can check cooperatives' activity when necessary. But not state enterprises. The Law on the Cooperative System directly states that it is "oriented toward equal collaboration between the state sector and the kolkhoz-cooperative sector in the socialist economy." The present resolution conflicts with this clause.

N. Petrakov: The legal aspect of our session has convinced me that we have not even reached the beginnings of a rule-of-law state. Without resolving the question of separating legislative and executive power, it is impossible to create a rule-of-law state. A great deal has been said about how the resolution is a direct response to the dissatisfaction with cooperatives reflected in public opinion. But what exactly is public opinion in our present interpretation of it? The apparatus has one set of results from studying public opinion and cooperatives have another. Clearly, we cannot manage without a precise science here. Although it has a number of positive features, the resolution we are discussing is at variance with the Law on the Cooperative System as a whole. The state should be encouraging the appearance of as many cooperatives as possible. Who is to blame for the high cooperative prices? The bureaucrats, who are not simply failing to help cooperatives spread but are actually standing in the way of their formation. The cooperatives themselves are possibly also contributing to this to some extent. Instead of expanding their own production, they are finding it more profitable to maintain scarcity prices. The state could bring its influence to bear here by adopting a flexible taxation policy. Taxes could be reduced, for example, when output increases. This would also have a healthy effect on prices. But every superfluous, obdurate prohibition and additional obstacle that has to be overcome with the help of extra bribes only serves to raise prices. Unfortunately, there is no procedure at present for protesting resolutions like these. There is no Constitutional Oversight Committee yet. Only the Council of Ministers can change anything...

I. Kruglyanskaya: I would like to draw attention to point 4 of the resolution, which reminds the republic councils of ministers of their right—"where necessary"—to supplement the envisaged new restrictions with their own restrictions based on local conditions. Will this not encourage local ban-mania and mean that, in some cases, even what is not banned will not be allowed? The wording of Article 3 of the Law on the Cooperative System is very restrained in this respect. It allows all forms of activity, "with the exception of activity prohibited by the legislation of the Soviet Union and the union republics." In other words, those forms of activity already prohibited, as I understand it. No mention is made of possible expansions of the list of prohibitions.

V. Antonenko: I would like to object, but first I must point out that by legislation we mean not only acts passed by the supreme soviets but also those passed by councils of ministers. When discussing legislation—at both union and republic level—Article 3 of the law you mentioned proceeds from the fact that this legislation can be changed and improved upon. And point 4, which

you have also mentioned, is incorporated in the resolution simply in order to once again emphasize that the Union does not consider these issues to be solely within its jurisdiction.

N. Lapchenkov: But, after all, the resolution is not concerned with banning cooperatives but with banning certain types of cooperative activity, as envisaged in Article 3 of the Law on the Cooperative System. Article 54 of the Law on the Cooperative System directly states that the particularities of its application in different sectors and to different types of cooperatives are determined by the USSR Council of Ministers.

T. Abova: First, banning a form of activity fundamental to a cooperative is equivalent to banning the cooperative itself. Second, "particularities of application" must not result in the spirit and letter of the law being distorted.

N. Lapchenkov: I would like to object that, whereas Appendix 1 is concerned with banning certain forms of activity, Appendix 2 only discusses the conditions for conducting certain activities.

T. Abova: These conditions are fundamental if a cooperative is placed under the control of a state enterprise. As I have already said, this conflicts with the law.

N. Lapchenkov: But you have still not convinced me of this conflict. In my opinion, it does not exist.

A. Konovalov: At present, attempts are being made to regulate cooperatives by administrative means, and a new sphere of corruption is growing up around them. The shortage of raw materials and premises means that all this can only be obtained through bribery. You would like some figures? Of course! You can pay as much as R300 for a tonne of polyethylene. And up to R300 for a square meter of space. Ten percent of the cost of an automatic lathe. We have suggested to the Moscow Soviet that it lease out premises by auction. Whoever can pay the highest price. This will pump money from the pocket of the bribe-taker into the state treasury. Then everyone—apart from him—will be satisfied. Particularly the members of cooperatives. Why should they risk breaking the law? The cooperatives making the most profit will pay the most. We have also suggested that we be given raw material on a competitive basis... And equipment. True, certain priorities would have to be stipulated. For example, a cooperative kindergarten could be supplied with premises without having to compete in an auction.

V. Antonenko: In my view, the question of material-technical supplies and premises is raised correctly here.

T. Abova: I would still like to hear your opinion of the main proposals made here.

V. Antonenko: If it is not too difficult, perhaps you could summarize them briefly.

T. Abova: First, that we should not make state enterprises responsible for the activity of cooperatives attached to them. Second, that those forms of activity in which stronger departmental monitoring would suffice be removed from Appendix 1 of the resolution. And, third, that if this kind of resolution is adopted, the preamble should indicate why it is being adopted. The need to provide such a valid preamble could remove a number of problems in advance.

V. Antonenko: Thank you. I hope that the considerations voiced here will be useful in the further improvement of normative acts concerning cooperatives.

N. Petrakov: To be honest, I do not like the general thrust of the resolution. Whatever you say, they are trying to return cooperatives to the bosom of the state—at least in part. Another two or three steps like this and everything will come full circle. A cooperative must be a sovereign organization which expresses its subordination to society through the payment of taxes, lease payments, and so forth.

E. Parkhomovskiy: I would like to recall the example of the Decree on Taxation of Members of Cooperatives. Public opinion did not accept it and it was abolished. New principles for the taxation of members of cooperatives are now being drafted. Perhaps the current process of shaping public opinion will lead to improvements in the adopted resolution and eliminate its contradictions with the Law on the Cooperative System. It is important to involve scientists in this process—legal experts, sociologists, members of cooperatives themselves, and the broad public. This would reflect today's living, democratic process of legislation. I think that the time of ossified, inviolable norms is past. And the very fact that we are holding this discussion today is a highly encouraging sign of the new times.

Those people who are rightly alarmed by the high cooperative prices read with hope in the newspapers of the Politburo session which discussed ways to keep these prices down by economic methods. It is economic methods rather than administrative bans that are the way to improve our cooperative activity.

Police Act To Curb Cooperative-Linked Rackets

PM2601164989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS correspondent L. Kislinskaya report under the "Informed Sources" rubric: "Barrier Against Racketeering"]

[Text] Moscow—The law enforcement organs' campaign against racketeering was the theme of the press conference at the Moscow Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Main Administration 25 January.

"Our activity has increased noticeably recently," A. Karpov, chief of the Moscow Criminal Investigations Department, said. "The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree 'On Amendments and Additions to the RSFSR Criminal Code' is one of the measures taken to step up the struggle against organized crime, an integral feature of which is racketeering. The new edition of the article of the law on extortion provides stiffer penalties for those who engage in racketeering.

"Citizens' legal protection is being increased and we have begun receiving more statements from people who have been victims of racketeering. Many people suspected of racketeering have been arrested. Recently, for example, cooperative workers have been the most frequent targets of extortion.

"Just recently we arrested three racketeers who had extorted R50,000 from the leader of the 'Sokol' cooperative. Furthermore, the bandits took their victim out of town where they tortured him and subjected him to all kinds of indignities. By some miracle the tortured man managed to escape. It is a curious fact that two of the three assailants were... cooperative members.

"Such facts demonstrate that all is not well with cooperative movement cadres. There has been much talk recently about the arson attack on the 'Zaydi—Poprobuy' cafe. That case is now being investigated. But one thing at least may be said. A definite group of people with clearly criminal tendencies got together there. Evidence of that is provided by the shots which rang out at the cafe on the eve of the fire.

"Shooting has been heard a number of times in the city recently. A fight in which firearms were used took place at the 'Aist' cooperative cafe on Bolshaya Bronnaya street. That case is also being investigated."

Prosecutor's Office Collegium Studies Import Thefts

PM2001125389 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 4

[S. Karkhanin report: "Loss of Imported Goods: Notes from a Session of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Collegium"]

[Text] For a long time this was one of the zones exempt from criticism. The press said nothing, the lawyers kept quiet.... It was customary to think that the "conveyor belt" from the foreign supplier to the shelves in our stores was working perfectly.

Now the veil of silence has been lifted. It is no coincidence that the problem of the safekeeping of socialist property in the foreign trade activity of ministries and departments was on the agenda of the USSR Prosecutor's Office collegium session. A check conducted by prosecutors at seaports and railroad stations produced the following highly unfavorable picture.

Statistics of Mismanagement:

In 1987 the loss of imported goods in transport, damage from theft, waste, and supply shortfalls in trade amounted to over R100 million. Each year organs of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry expose shortfalls and the supply of shoddy goods to our country costing more than R1 billion.

One of the main reasons that some foreign partners send unsuitable goods and articles in exchange for good hard currency rubles is immediately obvious—it is the connivance of foreign trade organizations. In the past 21 months 25.8 million tonnes of substandard grain and grain products and 9,400 tonnes of poor quality meat and meat products were purchased abroad. The example was set by the USSR Gosagroprom's "Soyuzplodoimport" association, which imported almost 30,000 tonnes of pest-infected cocoa beans through one Soviet port in 2 years. That same association bought third-rate oranges from Cuba which, as representatives of "Cubaexport" stated, are fit only for processing into fruit juice....

In this way the foreign currency which our state needs so desperately is being squandered. The collegium noted that representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations working abroad show a clear lack of responsibility when concluding deals. But the ministry, meanwhile, is not worried about the situation at all.

The inexplicable timidity of the former "Raznoeksport" association resulted in delays in its contracts which cost almost R440 million hard currency rubles last year.

...People standing in line outside the food stores hope that there will be a more abundant supply on the shelves. The state goes to great expense to buy food abroad. It is especially distressing that a considerable proportion of imported products are lost in transit.

Statistics of Mismanagement:

In 21 months 6,000 tonnes of meat and meat products and 4,400 tonnes of vegetable oil bought abroad were lost after transshipment from ship to rail transport. At Millerovo station on the North Caucasus Railroad, 13 carloads of imported grain were discovered when, according to the documents, the cars had been unloaded.

It would seem a simple matter to use weighing equipment. But if the margin of error there is 3-4 times above the norm you cannot get an accurate account of the amount of freight received. Addressing the collegium session, G.M. Fadeyev, first deputy minister of railways, leveled complaints at the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems over the slow replacement of the stock of weighing equipment at railroad stations. The criticism is in general fair although there are cases which demonstrate that where the very latest electronic scales have been installed, staff render them useless... The solution is simple: Precision

instruments are an obstacle to embezzlement. By manipulating approximate figures dishonest people are getting rich on the people's assets. Criminal proceedings have instituted in cases of embezzlement but most often it proves impossible to find the culprits or establish their guilt. Rare cases do come to court, but as a rule it is only the petty thieves who end up in the dock. USSR Prosecutor General A.Ya. Sukharev noted at the session that it is still rarely possible to expose well organized and coordinated groups of criminals operating at transport junctions. **Statistics of Mismanagement.**

The damage to enterprises of the Ministry of Railways from embezzlement and supply shortfalls over a period of 18 months amount to R6 million. Criminal proceedings have been instituted in 57 cases of theft of goods arriving from abroad en route for the earthquake affected regions of the Armenian SSR: vehicles, mobile accommodation units, and clothing have been stolen. In one-third of the cases the culprits were rail workers and station staff.

Such things cannot be tolerated, of course. In the near future the thieves will go on trial. But even the most severe punishment will hardly change the situation radically. The problem of the safekeeping of freight in transport has been with us a long time and can scarcely be solved without organizational changes. The representatives of several ministries are now proposing the creation of an extradepartmental joint stock organization to handle the transportation of imported goods from the state border to the customer. This idea is supported by the USSR Prosecutor's Office Transport Administration. There is only one "voice" against it at the moment—the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

It is clear that the "organization and dispatch" question needs to be thoroughly worked out, but even now it is plain that half-measures do not work. There is further evidence of that—the argument which flared up at the collegium between two first deputy ministers—V.I. Tikhonov from the Ministry of the Maritime Fleet and G.M. Fadeyev from the Ministry of Railways—on the question of labeling freight cars containing imported goods: Which department is responsible for this? The ministries argue and the goods are lost.

Here is the opinion of A.T. Melnikov, deputy chief of the USSR Prosecutor's Office General Supervision Administration: "The departments pass the responsibility from one to another and try to avoid a direct discussion of radical measures and their own omissions." Those words have been confirmed by numerous facts. Here is an example. The "Prodintorg" association suffered losses from underweight deliveries of imported raw sugar. Did someone pay the bill at least in part from his own pocket? No, in a letter the Ministry of Finances allowed the association to write off the losses as "overheads." Expensive imported goods worth R1 million have been written off in that way recently.

An all-forgiving attitude and crime always go together. A few years ago in Moscow they uncovered a group of experts from the Chamber of Commerce and Industry who in exchange for bribes had helped dishonest people from trade and transport organizations to get rich illegally. The target of the thefts was the same—imported goods. There have been similar instances in Khabarovsk and Krasnodar Krays and Sverdlovsk Oblast. Thus, nothing has been done to guard against these abuses.

"Until there is order in work with imported goods in our country we will not win the respect of our foreign trade partners," USSR Prosecutor General A.Ya. Sukharev stressed in conclusion. "I think that we should investigate all the criminal cases which have been dismissed concerning the kind of crimes under discussion."

Undoubtedly only the force of the law can halt mismanagement and theft. Every ruble of hard currency is precious to the country. The tough talking at the collegium confirmed once again that those people who squander foreign currency should not hope to get away with it.

Passengers Foil Attempt To Hijack Kiev Flight

PM2601153589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jan 89 p 1

[V. Volodin report: "I'll Fly Where I Want"]

[Text] "I'll fly where I want" was the reasoning of the air pirate bent on hijacking a plane.

The AN-24 bound for Kiev had taxied onto the runway at Ivano-Frankovsk. Flight attendant Tatyana Yantselovskaya glanced into the passenger cabin and started back with surprise: A man in the last row had suddenly stood up. He was holding a stick with rag wrapped around the end. The passenger had an attache case wedged under his arm and was holding a lighter in his hand. Yantselovskaya caught the whiff of gasoline before she heard his hoarse cry: "I'll set it alight!" The passenger reached the galley and, pushing the flight attendant away from the door, quickly said: "Do what I say. We will fly a different route. If not, we will burn together." He brandished the home-made torch in front of the flight attendant's face...

Yantselovskaya, summing up the situation instantly, grasped hold of the hand in which the hijacker was holding the lighter and began shouting. It was not easy for him to break free to use force in the narrow galley. Passengers, hearing the cry, were already rushing from the cabin to help the flight attendant. The hijacker was tied up.

In the confusion no one noticed that something had fallen out of the attache case. A muffled bang was heard and in an instant flames burst out in the galley. However, the fire was soon put out using means at hand.

Here is what we were told by M. Pankov, first deputy chief of the oblast internal affairs administration:

"The bandit who attempted to hijack the aircaft is called Sergey Zemskov and was born in 1956. He is registered in the city of Kopeysk, Chelyabinsk Oblast. He has not worked anywhere for a long time. In his own words, he came to our city, which is in a border area, to try to hijack a plane and escape across the border. He said his destination was England. The decisive action of the flight attendant and passengers—I will give their names—Geyshenyuk, Genek, and Yavorskiy—stopped the bandit. The fire broke out because Zemskov's case turned out to have in it a hand-made grenade-firecracker containing a highly inflammable substance...."

Criminal proceedings have been instituted by the transport prosecutor's office.

*Discussion Continues on Draft Criminal Law

WA18000400a Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Jan 88 p 3

[Readers' letters on criminal legislation]

[Text]

Are Amnesties Needed?

I am no jurist. However with a careful reading of the draft fundamentals of criminal legislation a number of what seem to me to be significant points arose.

Since in accordance with international law our legislation also applies to foreign property on our territory, the fundamental law must also contain a phrase on safeguarding the private property of foreign owners.

The words "any other painful condition" must be excluded from article 14 paragraph 1 (on non-imputability) since all illnesses are included in this definition, right down to a cold.

I propose that provision be made in the fundamental laws for criminal responsibility for parents for particularly serious crimes committed by children aged under 14 years, and administrative responsibility for for crimes committed by children aged up to 16 years.

Espionage, treason and sabotage should be deleted from article 41 paragraph 1. Unless violent death is involved punishment in the form of the death penalty is incommensurate, and in the event that such death is involved, that is, is accompanied by murder or death, an article already covers that. In addition, these concepts are extremely vague: the not unknown Philbey, for example, engaged in espionage out of ideological conviction, not for mercenary motives. Surely 15 years in prison was enough!

Capital punishment should be imposed only for murder and for the brutal rape of minors! And the article in question suggests that the oprichnina [the bodyguard of tsar Ivan IV—ed] and the reign of Beria are not worthy of a civilized country.

In article 44 (circumstances mitigating responsibility), paragraph 4 is confusing. And law, and even more fundamental laws, should be clear not only to jurists but also to anyone, even the uneducated; for everyone must live according to those laws.

Amnesty in general should be excluded from the fundamental laws as a total legal absurdity. It is a large-scale version of the telephone right, or an act of the tsar done for show, liberal toward criminals and inhumane with respect to free and law-abiding citizens, where some of those given amnesty (and unfortunately this is a fact) commit murder and violence, steal, maim people and terrorize them. Pardon, reduction of sentence of imprisonment and early release from prison—this is another matter that takes into account all the pluses and minuses for a specific person.

And in general I believe that the misgivings of journalists and the public have been partly justified: the draft reflects the morality of the Thirties. It is the morality of what has not been eradicated from the older generation, whose representatives were evidently the ideologues of the draft. The draft will scarcely suit my generation—the 40-year-old Russian citizens—and in exactly the same way it will not be to the liking of those who are now 20. Of course, I admit that I may be wrong.

[Signed] A. Ivanov, construction engineer, member of the CPSU, Moscow.

Risk and Foresight.

The new acts on economic law have removed much of the legacy that has come down to us in the form of all kinds of restrictions and obstacles against economic initiative and enterprise. Many progressive initiatives have also been continued in the draft fundamentals of criminal law now being debated.

Attention is drawn to one important addition, namely article 26, on professional and economic risk; if the risk is aimed at achieving a socially useful goal then such action will not be liable to criminal punishment. Later an attempt is made to clarify the concept "justified risk." But we permit that risk if the person has acted in accordance with present scientific and technical knowledge and experience and has taken all possible steps to prevent harm with regard to law enforcement interests.

I am also "for" and fully share the noble intent of those who compiled the draft to open up for specialists at various economic levels new horizons for bold, creative quest and experiment in their work. Nevertheless, the proposed formulation is too vague and hazy and fails

completely to take into account the obvious contradiction in a whole series of normativ documents on technical safety and environmental protection. The possibility of broad, free interpretation of "justified risk" could become merely a convenient excuse for voluntarism. Because, for example, the labor of some economic manager might justify air pollution and the pollution of rivers and reservoirs, the destruction of forest and the excessive use of pesticides and herbicides by the desire to save state funds, increase harvests, not to fall behind schedule in enterprise output or in fulfilling state orders and so forth. We encounter many similar things in practical work!

I have had occasion to investigate a number of cases that were apparently connected with risk and where the person under investigation seemed to be pursuing noble goals. At one coal mine in Lvov they decided set a record for tunneling in a vertical shaft. When they did this they neglected the strict technical requirements. While "lining" the shaft with tubing and securing it with bolts they were in no hurry to pour concrete in the spaces between the "iron shirt" and the rock. So what happened? The tubing rings collapsed from below and this led to casualties. Remember that the leaders of the tunnelers had also tried to justify what had happened by claiming a patriotic desire to hasten the sinking of the shaft. However, the court rightly decided that it was a culpable act.

But what might the outcome of this case have been if the judges had been guided by the vague new concept of risk and suddenly decided that it was justified? Let us look at this realistically. If the law upholds the right to justified risk in an insufficiently clear and scanty formulation of a legal standard, the judges will find themselves in a complicated position. For as you can understand, those working with the law enforcement organs are called upon to protect the legitimate interests of people and society and cannot take risks; otherwise the innocent will be held criminally liable and the guilty will not.

I see only one solution. If there is a real need to have a standard in the fundamental laws to safeguard production and economic risk for those persons forced to resort to it, then the standard should not contain loopholes that would serve to justify criminal excessive self-confidence. This is why article 26 of the draft must, in my opinion, be scrupulously clarified.

[Signed] M. Ioffe, candidate of legal sciences, Lvov city.

Excerpts From Letters.

I do not agree that the draft fundamental laws have made provision for anachronistic cruel punishment such as deprivation of liberty for terms in excess of 15 years (article 36 part 2) and the death penalty (article 41). While it forbids its citizens to kill the state retains for itself the right to carry out the sentence of the court under procedure established by law. The ban on murder in peacetime should be universal and absolute. It is essential to follow the example of civilized Europe, and include in the text of the fundamental laws an article similar to article 15 of the Constitution of Spain: "The death sentence is banned except for cases as provided for by military criminal law in force in wartime.

[Signed] S. Diyev, legal consultant.

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One serious error in the fundamental laws is that they relieve parents of responsibility, moral and material, for crimes committed by their under-age children. I think that it would be advisable to add the following to article 70 part 3:

(3) Minors who have committed a crime for the first time that does not present great social danger may be relieved of criminal punishment by the court with monetary security and guarantees in writing from the parents.

Procedure for using the security money and guarantees should be established by the legislation of the union republic.

[Signed] A. Golovin, war veteran, veteran of labor, Valakhna city, Gorkiy Oblast.

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In my opinion, the draft fundamentals of criminal law presented for debate by citizens contains several imprecise, or, more accurately, incompletely expressed provisions. For example, section 1, article 2 states the following:

(1) "The criminal legislation of the USSR and the union republics has the task of protecting public order, its political and economic system, the individual, the rights and freedoms of citizens and cooperative property, and also the property of public organizations, environmental protection, and socialist law and order against criminal encroachments and so forth. Unfortunately, however, there is not a single word about protecting the personal property of the citizen.

In particular, section 1 article 8 (On Crime) also contains no mention of personal property of citizens. There should be absolutely no omissions in the law, not even the slightest omissions, and I therefore think that "the personal property of citizens, regardless of their citizenship" should be added to those articles as an object of law enforcement.

[Signed] Yu. Rzhevskiy, Stavropol.

Readers Criticize Winter Building 'Blitz'
PM2601120689 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[Vasiliy Parfenov article under the rubric "From the Editor's Mail": "Winter Blitz"]

[Text] Winter is not only snow, blizzards, and storms. In its first month—December—there is the great winter blitz on uncompleted construction projects. But come January—the second winter month—a blessed silence sets in at the construction sites...

Here is what our reader V. Zakusilo from Kiev writes on this subject. "Our plans for the commissioning of projects are not compatible with common sense. Why is the lion's share scheduled for December? Short hours of daylight, cold, snowdrifts, but on the construction sites scheduled for completion there is the winter blitz! Yet it is cheaper, simpler, and easier to commission projects in summer. The days are long, it is warm, providing the territory with amenities is easier when there is no snow, and there is no need to hack out frozen ground. I would like to read in PRAVDA what USSR Gosplan officials have to say about this."

The editorial office received another letter on a similar theme from I. Poselennov in Saransk: "If you look at newspaper files for the last 20-30 years, you will see that articles about construction and many party and government decisions talk about the scattering of resources over numerous construction projects and the growth of uncompleted construction. We talk about it, write about it, 'struggle' for many decades, but nothing changes. How long will we go on 'crying into our handkerchieves' and campaigning to ourselves? Does this mean that the USSR Gosplan and USSR Gosstroy leaders 'don't give a damn' about it?"

Before asking the USSR Gosplan leadership for an explanation, let us see how our construction workers actually worked last year. Badly, according to the USSR State Committee for Statistics. Of 858 production facilities on the state order, only 583 were commissioned. That is only 68 percent of the commissioning program for the year. And most of the commissioning took place in November and December.

If the construction workers failed to commission ⅓ of the scheduled projects, did they perhaps save an equivalent amount of resources? The fact is that they spent nearly all the year's capital investments digging new foundations and erecting building walls at plants that do not figure on the list of projects scheduled for completion. And it is no accident that the volume of uncompleted construction increased and much imported equipment accumulated in the stores.

Of course, the USSR Gosplan and USSR Gosstroy know about the situation at projects scheduled for completion. V. M. Serov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan, spoke to me about this with concern after studying the content of the readers' letters.

"We believe it is impossible to go on 'struggling' in the old way against blitz work at construction projects, and it is impermissible to tolerate the constant disruption of the plan for commissioning new plants. It is all a matter of shortcomings in the management mechanism in construction. We are particularly laggardly here. We build as if the money was given to us as a gift. And therefore we do not bother to save it. The USSR Gosplan has drawn up a draft government decision. The objective is drastically to change the principles of economic management. There will be no free state capital investments. A department that wants to build a new plant should borrow money from the bank at a percentage, and extinguish the loan after a certain time. It will become disadvantageous to create new jobs without due consideration. If a plant extends its area, let it pay tax to the local soviet. And another important innovation: No profit will be credited to the construction workers or the bank if the project has not been built, if it is not yielding output. We also intend to halve the lead time from the initial idea to the time when the production unit reaches design capacity. That is the way to end the scattering of resources.

"Now for the winter blitz. Construction ministries should give the trusts targets equally distributed over the quarters and months of the year. And work should proceed evenly from the first days of the year. The blitz system is the result of poor labor organization. In some places the local soviet wastes 6 months or so assigning a site for construction. Is that not likely to cause a December blitz?

"We say we must increase the interest and responsibility of economic managers. But say a trust has failed to commission projects. Yet it does not suffer. Wages have hitherto been based on the volume of resources spent. That means that the commissioning of projects should be paramount in the new economic management mechanism. That is the crux of the new decision," V.M. Serov concluded his commentary.

It would be nice to believe that the winter blitz on our construction sites will soon be a thing of the past.

Highlights of KOMMUNIST No 2 Reported
PM2601155189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Jan 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "New Issue of Journal"]

[Text] Issue No 2 of the journal KOMMUNIST has been published. It opens with an article by V. Nekrasov, entitled "Toward A New World Order," which analyzes the profound changes for the better in the world arena, achieved on the basis of new political thinking.

Under the "Restructuring: Theory And Practice" rubric I. Polozkov, first secretary of Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom, talks about the quest for new methods of party work in an interview entitled "Political Leadership—From Talk to Action."

Ye. Gaydar's economic review, "Economic Reform, Year One," appears under the same rubric. The well-known sociologist Yu. Levada shares his thoughts about the changes taking place in Soviet society in an article entitled "The Dynamics of Social Change: Analysis Potential."

Yu. Ryzhov, secretary of the Central Electoral Commission for the Election of USSR People's Deputies, and lawyer N. Starovoytov talk with the journal's correspondent about the problems arising in the course of the election campaign in an item entitled "School Of Democracy." There is a piece by O. Kuprin and A. Ulyukayev about the Krasnoyarsk Kray report and election party conference, entitled "Time To Repay Debts."

An article by A. Razumov, entitled "New Thinking And 'Old' Philosophy?", is printed under the "Spiritual Life of Society" rubric. The author writes that radical social transformations are impossible without a profound transformation of social consciousness, without a change in its philosophical and ideological foundation.

The "Public Opinion" rubric is represented by S. Yarmolyuk's piece "What Prompted the Letter? Looking at the Editorial Mailbag."

An article by S. Cheshko, entitled "Economic Sovereignty and the Nationalities Question," looks ahead to the CPSU Central Committee plenum on improving interethnic relations.

*New Cultural Preservation Official Interviewed

WA1800043O Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jan 89 p 3

[Interview with S.G. Petrov by R. Armeyev: "The Monuments Have a Boss"]

[Text] A new main administration for the preservation and restoration of monuments has been formed within the Ministry of Culture. Sergey Georgievich Petrov has been appointed its chief.

He is a Muscovite, born in 1936, and a graduate of the Moscow Architectural Institute. He is well acquainted with the problems of preservation and restoration of monuments, having been involved with them for many years. He also knows the difficult work days of the applied engineer, and has taught.

[Armeyev] Sergey Georgievich, how would you evaluate the situation of preservation and restoration of monuments in our country?

[Petrov] To be honest, the situation is extremely grave. An enormous volume of work looms ahead.

[Armeyev] Where will you begin?

[Petrov] It's better to say that we will carry on, after all, we can't deny what has already been done. We will develop the "Inheritance" program. All republics have been commissioned to conduct a definitive inventory, to make up a priority list to the monuments, showing their condition. It must be determined what needs our help first, and all our energy will be put into conservation of the monuments. The remaining energy and resources will be directed to restoration...

[Armeyev] Manifesting and prioritizing monuments, the creation of the "Code"—all that was begun 20 years ago...

[Petrov] Yes, and the entire matter has proceeded very slowly up to this point. Perhaps Belorussia is ahead of everyone; six volumes of the "Code of Monuments" have already been published, with one more on the way. In the whole country, the general collection will reach 180-190 volumes of the "Code."

[Armeyev] Don't you worry that by 2010, as the final volume is published, that the "extant" monuments will be only on paper?

[Petrov] We won't be so pessimistic; the very weather outside inspires optimism. Look at how quickly the public turned toward the problems of the preservation of our inheritance. Never before have there been so many voluntary assistants for restorations. Even the state organs include monuments in their interests. The State Architecture Committee is creating an administration of reconstruction, restoration and renovation of residential and public buildings. We will work hand in hand with the city builders. This is very important—we must find a common language.

[Armeyev] Yet the idea of creating a single state committee for preservation and restoration of monuments is still floating about; it is supposed to have one "boss"...

[Petrov] This concept has many supporters, and not a few opponents as well. Personally, I am for it. We will consider our new central board a necessary step on the road to a new committee.

[Armeyev] Judging by the complete, official name, The Main Administration for the Preservation and Restoration of Monuments and Capital Construction, your energies will be split up. Capital construction is a very serious branch...

[Petrov] All the same, the interests of our inheritance gets priority, just as in the title...

[Armeyev] But since preservation and construction are side by side, tell me, couldn't a new exhibition hall or museum be built for Moscow, in light of the 30's razing of the famous Sukharevaya Tower, perhaps even on its foundation?

[Petrov] I personally tend to disapprove of new things; after all, that still wouldn't be the Sukharevka, but a life-sized model. I consider today's most important task to be saving from ruin original monuments, among which are many masterpieces.

[Armeyev] What is most important here, what are you going to do first?

[Petrov] The strengthening of the material-technological base of restoration. Training of highly qualified personnel. Creation of a single system of monument restoration throughout the country...

[Armeyev] Are you going to accept the assistance of cooperatives?

[Petrov] Gladly. We will help create them, keeping quality control in mind.

[Armeyev] Is it possible that foreign firms and specialists will be attracted to the restoration?

[Petrov] Of course. Finns, Poles and Yugoslavs are already working on our projects...But I'm thinking of the most important assistants: how to draw the local soviets into our work. Up to now it's been the case that if the localities understand that without the past there is no future, the monuments there are in order. If there are ignorant, uncultured people in the leadership, we can't hope for the best...

[Armeyev] But surely the law must protect monuments from the ignorant...

[Petrov] Alas, the Law on the Preservation and Utilization of Historical and Cultural Monuments, adopted in 1976, only goes halfway. There are no judicial acts which would expose its position. It could be said that the law does not work and needs correction and augmentation. I dare say that corrections to it must be widely discussed and publicly adopted...

[Armeyev] Until the law has gained the power it needs, that power should probably rest with you. The matter of preservation of monuments has been waiting for the authoritative, strong hand for some time now.

[Petrov] Well, let's wait and see: authority comes during work, and we have enough persistence and resolve.

[Armeyev] Perhaps you have fresh examples of this?

[Petrov] Examples? Well, some time ago, we ceased construction on the second line of the Minsk metro...

[Armeyev] IZVESTIYA wrote that as a result of boring a shallow level tunnel, the Dramatic Theater and the active 17th century cathedral were cracked, and the Oblast Council of Trade Unions had to vacate its old building because of the its risky state.

[Petrov] Yes, that became a critical situation... The metro builders wanted to get away with half-baked steps, but we insisted on introducing a full complement of measures to fortify these monuments' foundations, to subsequently restore them and provide for complete safety during future metro exploitation. With the agreement of the best specialists, permission has now been given to continue boring the right tunnel, but only under the control of a commission of representatives of republic, state and social organs of monument preservation, and of leaseholders of the buildings of the left tunnel. The metro builders can continue the left tunnel only after presentation of a project for building noise barrier walls between the tunnel and the cathedral, as well as expense estimates for the restoration of all damaged monuments. Metro exploitation will begin only after all this work is carried out...

[Armeyev] Judging by that, it would seem that something's going wrong with metro construction, and not just in Minsk. In Gorkiy there are similar problems...

[Petrov] By law, all these projects must be coordinated with the organs of monument preservation, but... Obviously, there was no state organ for them to reckon with. Now we hope to attain a system under which no construction project, in city or country, is begun without permit visas from State Preservation.

[Armeyev] May our readers, upon encountering poor treatment of monuments, appeal to the central administration?

[Petrov] We would appreciate any information and any assistance.

*High Cost of Renaming Cities Examined

WA18000423a Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 3, 21-27 Jan 89 pp 6-7

[Interview with Doctor of Philological Sciences V. Neroznak, chairman of the Soviet Cultural Foundation Scientific-Public Toponymic Council, by correspondent D. Grantsev: "Remember Your Name"; date and place not specified]

[Text]Much has been said lately about returning the original names to some populated points, but we hear that this entails considerable expense. I would be interested to learn how much it cost to change the names of Izhevsk and Naberezhnyye Chelny back to their originals.

[signed] A. Glebov, Kostroma.

Our correspondent D. Grantsev put this and other questions to docter of philological sciences V. Neroznak, chairman of the Soviet Cultural Foundation Scientific-Public Toponymic Council.

[Neroznak] Unfortunately we still do not know how much it cost us change the name of Perm to Molotov and Molotov to Perm, and Voroshilovgrad to Lugansk and then back to Voroshilovgrad, or the numerous renamings of Rybinsk and the renaming of a whole series of cities named after Stalin back to their real names (or giving them new names). No expert economic analysis of this has ever been made.

If we talk about the "naturalization" of the names of the cities of Naberezhnyye Chelny and Izhevsk to replace the hastily proposed names in honor of Brezhnev and Ustinov, then according to various assessments the cost varied between R1 million and R2 million, and these calculations have not been seriously analyzed.

I would like to clarify the question of Nizhniy Novgorod. Here we are talking precisely about the re-institution of an historical name rather than a renaming, as it is often regarded, particularly in administrative circles. For Nizhniy Novgorod was renamed Gorkiy and as a result the ancient historical name was gradually forgotten. I recall that even the writer himself was against it.

However, by an overwhelming majority in the voting the city soviet deemed it expedient to change the name of the city. At the session sums of R50 million and R60 million were mentioned in connection with the name change. This included R9.4 million to alter the passports and birth certificates; adding in the costs for the entire oblast the costs ran to R25 million. Republishing the geographical maps, railroad timetables and other documents will, in the opinion of the city soviet, require another R25 million.

The deputies were told that with this amount of money it would be possible to construct 250,000 square meters of housing, which is the equivalent of a city development project. And of course, it becomes understandable why the majority of deputies voted against any return to its original name.

Nevertheless, the figures bandied about in the city soviet were a hundred times greater than the true figure. On orders from the Gorkiy branch of the All-Russian Cultural Foundation, economists in the city produced calculations that showed that the total figure of the cost of returning Nizhniy Novgorod to its original name would be R509,000, of which R360,000 would come from the budget. Calculations were also made of the cost of replacing the name signs of organizations, and their seals and stamps, manufacturing new blank forms, signs marking the boundaries of populated points, and name signs at railroads and the airport. The question of maps no longer arose since it had recently been announced that they were about to be re-published in any case, and in accordance with existing procedure would simply be reprinted every 5 years. And yet another item of expense: the Provisions on the Passport System in the USSR state (paragraph 5, subparagraph 12) that there is no need to alter the passports of citizens in the city and oblast. And so costs were reduced here, too.

I have dwelled in detail on this question because the same arguments employed in the Gorkiy city soviet using the same method—to flabbergast—are also being employed in Kalinin as justification against giving the city back its historical name of Tver. I refer to what was published in KALININSKAYA PRAVDA on 28 February 1988: "Total costs for Kalinin city will, according to the roughest and most approximate calculations, be about R20 million..." The calculations are indeed "most approximate" and "roughest."

I think that in all cases it is essential to entrust the public, along with the experts, to produce accurate figures.

[Grantsev] Has a final list been drawn up for proposals to change city names back to their originals?

[Neroznak] No, more work needs to be done to establish the list of historical names for cities that should first be renamed. The Toponymic Council has compiled such a list of two dozen cities. Taking into account the numerous comments, to the list published earlier (in the newspaper IZVESTIYA on 3 August 1988) have been added Rybinsk (now Andropov), Sergiyev Posad (now Zagorsk), Korela (now Priozersk) and a number of others.

[Grantsev] By how much will the costs be cut if these cities are given back their original names all at once?

[Neroznak] D.S. Likhachev proposed in the Toponymic Council that it would be advisable to go back to the names most valued in our history as a one-time procedure. This is advantageous economically and politically. Calculation of the cost could be done by a special USSR Supreme Soviet commission specially set up, regardless of local attitudes. It is still too early to say how much this will cut the costs. I note that they can be significantly reduced by making use of subbotniks and voluntary contributions from the inhabitants of these cities.

[Grantsev] Where and when will the collection of voluntary contributions be opened for this important undertaking?

[Neroznak] We are being asked this question not only by Soviet citizens but also by fellow-countrymen living abroad who are proposing to make currency transfers.

However, we have still not received the permission of the gorispolkoms concerning the restoration of historical names and we have neither the legal nor moral right to announce any collection of such sums. Theoretically the Soviet Cultural Foundation can accept such contributions by indicating that the sums are to be used to restore to some particular city its historical name.

[Grantsev] Many readers disagree with the recommendation made by the Toponymic Council to restore the old names to cities, particularly the inhabitants of Kirov city. Perhaps it would be more democratic to hold a referendum in the cities that want to change their names?

[Neroznak] We favor all forms of public, open discussion of this problem—referendums, polls, debate. But on one condition, namely that at these democratic assemblies the entire truth is told about the destruction of the country's historical toponymy, which took place along with the creation of the idols.

From the Editor

By decree of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers the names of L.I. Brezhnev and K.U. Chernenko have been abolished in the naming of cities, rayons, streets and a number of production associations. Grants named after these political "leaders" awarded in the country's universities and institutes are abolished. Memorial plaques have been removed from the places where they were set up.

The CPSU Central Committee has proposed that the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers rescind ukazes and resolutions connected with immortalizing the memory of A.A. Zhdanov.

However, the names of odious personalities are still preserved in the country. Thus, in Ufa there is a Vyshinskiy Street, while in Shyaylyay there is a street named in honor of the pseudoscientist Lysenko. In the capital of Uzbekistan one street bears the name of Rashidov. Our readers are writing to tell us about this. And the question is: what will happen to them?

*Legal Implications of Churbanov Verdict

WA18000420a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by V. Itkin, G. Ovcharenko, and A. Chernenko: "After the Trial"]

ng Yu. Churbanov and the highest police officials of Uzbekistan went into effect immediately after it was made public, but the passions surrounding it are not dying down. Especially—and this is natural—among legal experts who think that this complicated judicial process has become a significant landmark in Soviet jurisprudence. But here is another matter: What did this landmark mark?

We admit that the verdict of the military board of the USSR Supreme Court has caused confusion—to put it mildly—in the majority of those who have followed the "Churbanov affair." Here is what the lathe operator V. Nazarov from Moscow writes to PRAVDA about this: "The court gave in to the official Mafia and ended up under its thumb. They gave the ringleader only 12 years and Kakhramanov was let go scot free."

One can understand how this reader feels: during the course of the investigation, which was publicized in the press, and during the judicial proceedings themselves people were frankly informed of things about which they could previously only guess while whispering among one another: corruption has developed in the country. The people also found out how difficult it is to fight against corrupt thieves. The investigatory group headed by Telman Gdlyan from the very beginning had to overcome resistance from the Mafia but also from central and local officials. Suffice it to say that even when they had their hands on irrefutable evidence of Yu. Churbanov's guilt, it took the investigators more than a year to obtain permission to arrest him.

And against this background, the confrontation of good and evil, law and lawlessness, to many people the court's sentence seemed too mild. What is the problem?

First of all it is that even before the trial public opinion had already decided that, taking into account the high positions of the major figures in case, it was necessary to "throw the book at them." "Do not think that we were thirsty for blood (although there were those who were)," writes this same Nazarov, "no, we were thirsty for justice, and hence that severe, even cruel punishment, the fear of which halts the antisocial activity of other corrupt people in high places."

Many, without suspecting it themselves, were thirsting not for a legal process, wherein guilt is proved in a competitive debate of accusation and defense, but essentially a political process in which, as in the thirties, the outcome of the judicial process had been decided beforehand. For many people at the level of everyday awareness the figures of the accused generals were equated with the period of stagnation itself. And this being the case, the period of stagnation had to be judged through them. And judged harshly...

Did public opinion enter into a confrontation with the dispassionate Femida?

"As a human being," Major General of Justice M. Marov who presided over the trial shared with us, "I had no doubt of the guilt of those who were sitting on the bench of the accused and was ready to double the sentence. But I was the judge. And I was obligated to doubt every conclusion of the investigation. And every conclusion had to be verified again and again."

General Marov, like the other two judges on the board—people's assessors Generals V. Zhevagin and V. Sizov—during the course of the investigation scrupulously studied every episode submitted by the preliminary inquiry. The accused were declared guilty only when there was a totality of this evidence, verified in a judicial session, about whose reliability there could be no doubt.

A typical episode. In a preliminary inquiry and in a judicial session Churbanov peaded guilty to accepting, and the former business manager of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, Umarov, of giving (along with the former chairman of the Samarkand oblispolkom, Khamrakulov) a bribe of 130,000 rubles to Churbanov. It would seem that nothing else would be needed for the court in this episode to recognize the guilt of both the bribe taker and the bribe giver. But in the opinion of the judges there were contradictions in the testimonies of the accused and the witness. These contradictions were not eliminated during the judicial session, and since no other reliable evidence proving that Churbanov was involved in precisely this episode was found, he was not declared guilty in this part of the trial.

There were many examples like this. And after each time it was "...not given confirmation in court" a guarded silence fell over the courtroom: what was happening? Was the court really acting on someone's orders and throwing a wrench in the works? One recalls a conversation on the first day of the proceedings with one of the lawyers:

"If the preamble of a guilty verdict is heard," he said, "the proceedings will be slanted toward a guilty verdict and there will be no real debate."

At that time we argued with the lawyer: In the first place, the law requires the court to read out all of the guilty verdict, and in the second place, having become familiar with the preamble already, we saw nothing in it that could indicate that the judicial proceedings were already determined. It described the sociopolitical and economic situation in the republic at the time the crime was committed, recalled the "cotton business," and asserted that the "police case" revealed only part of the corruption that had invaded not only Uzbekistan, but other regions as well, even Moscow. Is this not true?!

In the court they did not make the preamble of the guilty verdict public. Many regarded this as an attempt to play down the significance of the proceedings and reduce them to a simple case of crime rather than a concrete example of a more general phenomenon. And in the lobbies they began to say that the USSR Supreme Court should not be handling the Churbanov case at all. But why? All kinds of reasons were given.

One of them: Major General M. Marov had served on the tribunal of the Turkestan military district whose staff was headquartered in Tashkent. In other words, the military tribunal was under the supervision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, or more precisely—its division of administrative agencies in which Kakhramanov worked. Yes, the same Kakhramanov who immediately after the verdict was read was released from custody in the courtroom because his guilt had not been proved.

We decided to ask the question directly—face to face.

"I served in the Turkestan military district and lived in Tashkent," M. Marov told us. "From party policy it should be clear to anyone who has been in the army that we were supervised by the political administration of the military district and not the local party agencies. So I saw Kakhrakmanov for the first time in the courtroom. And as for the incompetence of the Supreme Court in this case, the law states directly that military servicemen with the rank of General are under the jurisdiction of only the military board of the USSR Supreme Court. At the time when Churbanov was accused he was a Colonel General. The same law stipulates: if even one person is under the jurisdiction of the military court, all the other parties in the case are under the jurisdiction of the same court, even civilians. So even if the USSR Supreme Court wanted to refuse jurisdiction in this case it could not do it. That is the law."

"Mikhail Alekseyevich, during the inquiry and in court the former deputy of internal affairs of Uzbekistan, Begelman, gave frank testimony. According to the law, this should make the punishment less severe. And even the state prosecutor only asked for 6 years in prison. But the court sentenced him to 9! People began to say: this is premeditated severity to make sure that those involved in the inquiry, having learned their lesson from Begelman, will be less open."

"Begelman was found guilty of taking several dozen bribes totaling about 50,000 rubles. Moreover, as was determined by the court and even the state prosecutor, who asked that certain episodes applied against other accused parties from Begelman's testimony be struck from the record, he allowed the defense of the accused. So is this supposed to be a reason for assigning him a punishment that is below the lower limit established by law (8 years in prison)? If this were the case, the same thing should be done for Begelman's subordinates whose guilt was unquestionably less."

"But why did the court not make public the preamble to the guilty verdict?"

"Article 205 of the RSFSR Criminal Code strictly determines what must be said in a guilty verdict. The investigation went beyond the framework of this article, trying from the very beginning to define the crime committed by the accused as not only criminal but also sociopolitical. But we must judge the accused not in terms of his family or his job and not because he flourished during the time of stagnation, but only in terms of the concrete actions and deeds that are punishable under the law. Moreover, the preamble has already labeled as criminals a large number of individuals who are still under investigation. This is the grossest violation. Therefore it was decided not to make the preamble to the guilty verdict public."

And so the law has been observed. And this—since we are still little by little building a law abiding state—is the main thing. In general, the more you study the materials of the proceedings, the more categorically you reach the conclusion that in its decisions the court was guided by the right of the accused to a defense and the presumption of innocence, whereby the accused is always given the benefit of the doubt.

So why is it that even the people who are writing these lines, who for 4 months have attentively followed everything that has happened within the walls of the USSR Supreme Court, still have some kind of feeling of dissatisfaction with the sentence that was handed down?

Here we come to the moral and legal problems which, like the beam of a projector, have elucidated what is already being called the "trial of the year."

There is not a single person today who would not advise in favor of creating a state of law. This means that all of us are in favor of the supremacy of the law. We have been through a great deal! Especially when it comes to Femida, who is blindfolded precisely so that she cannot distinguish rank and position—everyone is equal before the law. In other words, the punishment of the law for one and the same crime should be the same for a general and for a doorman. This is a fundamental concept of legality.

But the problem is that we have just begun to remember. Our sense of justice, distorted over many years, has become accustomed to something else: a situation in which the punishment is determined by the court not only for concrete actions and deeds of a concrete individual, but also depending on his family and position, public opinion, and pressure on the court from various external forces.

On our trips to Uzbekistan we saw the eyes of those who were maimed and crushed by Rashidovlike behavior. We have seen their fear, their mistrust, their apathy. And our hearts pounded, demanding one thing: retribution.

But we saw others as well: those who had been defamed by the unjust court of economic warriors and declared to be criminals (and for the best political purposes!)... We saw the eyes of a person who had sat in the "death chamber" and by some miracle had been exonerated... And how many mothers, considering him a murderer, have cursed this innocent person?!

This is it, the other side of the coin. For one must not confuse the social and political guilt of the accused with legal guilt—for bribery, harm caused by incompetence, theft...

The court departed from its customary accusatory inclinatation which, incidentally, we all so fervently deplore in words, and acted strictly in keeping with legislation. It is perhaps far from perfect in many ways, but it is working today.

Yes, the public sense of justice—and this must be stated openly—has not proved to be ready for this step. The sentence did not seem severe enough to some (one of the accused was exonerated and the case of another was sent on for further investigation). Some people are actively quarreling with the investigators. But both exoneration and further investigation are elementary constituent parts of the functioning of justice. And the first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, an extremely competent legal expert, noted that during the past 10 years the Supreme Court had not exonerated a single person. Up to this point any exoneration, even in the legal protection agencies, has been regarded as an extraordinary event. And it is inevitably followed by reproaches against those who conducted the investigation. There are plenty of examples.

Now all the telephones in the editorial office are ringing from people with the same question:

"What about Gdlyad? Has he already been fired from the prosecutor's office? Have they gotten rid of him?"

And here the press also took up the investigation. A half year ago, for example, certain publications were writing about the adherence to principle, civic courage, and professionalism of the Gdlyan group. Now they are actively talking about the "weakness of the investigation," the "legal violations committed by the investigation," and they are shifting the blame to Gdlyan and his colleagues for illegally detaining the suspects in custody and using illegal methods to conduct the investigation.

We asked the first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, S. Gusev, to comment on one of these statements which were made by a fairly well known legal expert. We heard in response:

"That is merely the private opinion of the author and not of the USSR Supreme Court."

Let us note that the court did not make a particular determination concerning the quality of the investigation, thus admitting that the rumors and slander about the "questionable methods of Gdlyan and Ivanov" are groundless.

Mikhail Alekseyevich Marov added:

"The investigation took a large amount of painstaking work. But there can always be certain oversights in such a large case. Here it is important for the court to take note of them and not pass them by."

It would seem that today we should not be talking about who made a better showing at the trial: the investigators, the defense, or the court (it seems to us, incidentally, that they all overlooked some things). Today it is more important to consider the problems that were aggravated by the judicial proceedings. For example, what should be considered a bribe.

It states in the law that a bribe is when an official takes money "for the performance or nonperformance of some action in the interests of the individual from whom he took the bribe." The bribe has become diversified—money is given to a highly placed person not for concrete actions or nonactions, but perhaps so that subsequently he will win his approval—perhaps he will prove useful. Recently in a number of judicial proceedings this has been regarded not as a bribe but as a gift, a present, and the accused have been judged for abuse of their official position. This question also arose in the Churbanov proceedings when the discussion came around to the large sums he had received from party and Soviet functionaries. The court made a simple determination: it was a bribe. It would seem that this clarity in the definition of a modern bribe should be the subject of special consideration at the plenum of the USSR Supreme Court. It is finally time to close off the loopholes for the bribe taker in legislation, which is clearly behind the times. For a bribe "in any case" is an element of corruption.

The long discussed problem of allowing lawyers in on the very early stages of the investigation was essential in the proceedings. Practice has shown once again that if this were allowed one would not hear from the accused that they admitted their own or another's guilt because of pressure from the investigators, the harsh conditions of being kept in custody...

Here is a question about which, for some reason, both scholars and practical workers remain silent. Although they do admit that the conditions for being kept in isolation during an investigation are worse even than in a hard labor camp. Just think: the person has not even been proven guilty and he is already serving out his sentence.

And the time periods for being kept in custody? Sometimes the accused spends several years in jail before being brought to trial. This is done by way of exceptions with decisions from the USSR Supreme Soviet. But it would seem that exceptions not envisioned in the law are becoming the rule. Perhaps indeed, as scholars suggest, the court should be given the right to extend the period for keeping people in custody? Or should the authority of the USSR Procurator General be expanded in this area? To be sure, under one condition: that the investigation be taken out of the procurator's office and that it engage in its proper concerns: supervision of the observance of legality...

The court tried to act strictly in accordance with the law, precisely fulfilling the functions assigned to it in a state of law. If justice continues along this path in the future it will be possible to guarantee the protection of our interests, rights, and freedoms.

Nor do the investigators deny this. They understand quite well that the stronger, the more independent, and the more bound by principles the court is, the greater its demands on the preliminary accusation and the stronger the investigation. Gdlyan has discussed this more than once.

Incidentally, he recently returned from Uzbekistan, and with him he brought the next million rubles—the 44th already—from that which has been obtained by corrupt officials.

And we should like to relate one more piece of news: quite unbeknownst to him, a collective of many thousands of workers from one of the industrial enterprises nominated Gdlyan as their candidate for USSR people's deputy.

Economic

Abalkin Gives Briefing on Economic Restrucuring

Situation 'Highly Tense'

LD2501202889 Moscow TASS in English 2023 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 25 TASS—Efforts to arrest the Soviet economy's sliding down toward crisis and to get down to diverting the national economy to social programmes have suceeded in three and a half years that have passed since the course of perestroyka was proclaimed in the USSR, Leonid Abalkin, director of the Institute of the Economy of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said at a news conference here today.

The scientist cited several facts to confirm his conclusions. Last year, "the entire production growth was ensured due to an increase in worker productivity", he said. "The country has managed for the first time to build 2.2 million new flats in a year".

On the whole, the economic situation in the country remains highly tense, Academician Abalkin stressed. According to him, "the planned level for the national income growth is not ensured, the output of consumer goods is being increased at a slow pace, but the population's cash incomes went out of control".

"The need of a financial improvement is now being moved to the fore," the scientist believes. Bringing down and eliminating the state budget deficit within the shortest possible time is of fundamental importance. This can be achieved by cutting down spending above all on industrial construction, by transferring to cooperatives or leasing enterprises operating at a loss, by utilizing more actively the population's funds, especially in social

projects. Reducing military spending and placing orders for the production of consumer goods with many arms manufacturing plants will likewise serve the same goal".

Abalkin said, in part, that there were plans to close down dozens of loss-making enterprises last year, but cooperatives which were set up on their basis succeeded in making them to turn in profit". [quotation mark as received] The new economic mechanisms will allow the country to expedite the solution of many economic problems, the scientist noted.

Upturn Not Expected Until 1995

LD2601180189 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] One of the leading theoreticians of the economic reform, Dr Leonid Abalkin, has told a news conference in Moscow that the main result so far is that the Soviet economy is no longer slipping into a crisis, but a considerable rise in living standards, he said, would not be evident until 1995. Dr Abalkin described the current period of the reform as one of the most complicated, even critical. The reasons were many, he said, but the main reason was that until now the nation had been working on the theory of economic restructuring, hammering out an action program and trying out new methods of management at individual enterprises and in the individual sectors of the economy. Now, that stage was over.

[Begin Abalkin recording in Russian fading into English summary] Now we are beginning a massive, nationwide application of the new methods of management and like any such process this one is difficult. We know very well how easy it is to talk and advance ideas and how difficult it is at times to carry them out. This explains the specific character of the current period, its difficulties and problems.

In the course of the restructuring we have encountered the difficulties we foresaw, but also some we did not foresee. We expected resistance to the new from the old bureaucratic setup. We knew that we had to cope with a difficult heritage, but we expected a more favorable situation both inside and outside the country. The drop in oil prices on the world markets by four and five times has cost us a large share of our revenue and tremendous funds that could have been used to improve the economy, had to be invested in clearing up the aftermath of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant and now in coping with the consequences of the earthquakes in Armenia and Tajikistan.

But despite all the difficulties, the economic reform is producing results. The most significant is the shift of focus to social programs. The government has increased investments in public health and education, and the scale of housing construction has grown considerably. Also, the economy is becoming more intensified. Last year, for the first time in Soviet history, the entire growth of industrial output stemmed from greater efficiency; there was no increase in labor power. Also, slowly but surely, new machinery and technology are generating a saving of raw and other materials. Most important, the whole nation is in movement. All areas of Soviet society are undergoing a renewal. This is the most radical result of the restructuring.

Dr Abalkin detailed a program for further improvement of the Soviet economy. There is a real possibility in the next few years of greatly reducing the budget deficit and saturating the domestic market with both machinery and consumer goods and services. Once this has been done, we can move ahead quickly with our economic reform.

That was a summary of a speech Dr Leonid Abalkin, a well-known economist, made at a news conference in Moscow.

Price, Other Reforms Postponed

AU2601084589 Paris AFP in English 0756 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Anne Penketh report]

[Text] Moscow, Jan 26 (AFP)—A top economic adviser to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has indicated that economic chaos in the country has forced the postponement of key aspects of the leadership's reform programme, including a price overhaul.

Leonid Abalkin, the head of the Academy of Sciences' Economics Institute, explained Wednesday that a series of unforeseen difficulties had led to the postponement. Analysts said the move could compromise Mr. Gorbachev's reforms known as perestroyka.

In a bleak assessment of the current situation, he said there were "no palpable results" from perestroyka, and warned that the first real results would now only be felt in six years' time in 1995. But he stressed that the reforms would continue, "even with great difficulty".

"It was difficult to foresee that we would fail to preserve the balance in the economy, and that the monetary system would get out of control and that there would be discrepancies in the budget," Mr. Abalkin told a news conference here lasting more than two hours.

"The stabilisation of the economy is the precondition for the reforms to go ahead," he said.

The economist is a main architect of Mr. Gorbachev's market-oriented reforms and is on the Communist Party's list of 100 candidates running for the same number of seats to a revamped legislature in two weeks' time.

Among other unforeseen difficulties, Mr. Abalkin listed the three-year slump in world oil prices, the 1986 nuclear accident at the Chernobyl plant, the devastating Armenian earthquake last December and a smaller quake this week in the Central Asian republic of Tadzhikistan.

He also cited the growth of Soviet workers' salaries which was "out of control".

These factors meant that "the order of priorities and deadlines should be changed to match the demands of reality," he said.

Mr. Abalkin, who only six months ago had been an ardent supporter of urgent price reform, said that "we cannot have a price reform now either for financial or political reasons."

Rumours of imminent price increases have caused a run on all types of goods from the shops already severely hit by shortages.

Mr. Abalkin did not set a new date for a price reform, but said it could not happen "without taking the market into account, along with the psychological situation and the readiness in society to support it."

The Kremlin had originally decided to introduce price reforms gradually along with wholesale trade so that the next five-year plan, beginning in 1991, would incorporate new price structures.

Radical economists argue that perestroyka, or restructuring, cannot succeed without price reform. Currently, prices of items ranging from screws to shoes are artificially fixed by central bodies and bear no relation to their market value.

But without price reform, new profit-and-loss accounting methods were only on paper, he admitted.

"Today not a single business in this country is fully self-sufficient or has switched fully over onto cost-accounting. We need contract prices, a market where the means of production are sold at wholesale prices," he said.

To overcome the budget deficit predicted at 36 billion rubles (57 billion dollars) this year—or seven per cent of the total budget volume—Mr. Abalkin recommended cutting budget investments by 20 percent, in addition to military spending cuts of 14.2 percent announced by Mr. Gorbachev.

He said that according to his institute, capital investments could be cut by freezing a number of costly projects. The private, or cooperative sector, could also be encouraged.

Loss-making factories must be closed down to set an example, he said, noting that the political will on plant closures had been lacking despite provisions for bankruptcy in legislation which came into force one year ago.

But he added that some factories threatened with closure had been saved by their workforce by moving onto a cooperative basis.

Concerning financial and monetary reform, apparently referring to a convertible ruble, Mr. Abalkin said: "I don't think we have the conditions and the necessity to introduce reform in this country in the near future".

Abalkin Sees No 'Radical Breakthrough' in Economy
PM2501095189 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 24 Jan 89 p 1

[Report on interview with Academician L.I. Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute, by SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent S. Zykov: "Concern for Man in the Forefront. On the Results of the Country's Socioeconomic Development in 1988"—date, place of interview not given; first paragraph is an introduction]

[Text] The results of the country's socioeconomic development in 1988, published by the USSR State Committee for Statistics, generate tremendous interest among all Soviet people. What are the main trends revealed by the figures, which have been submitted to glasnost? What contribution has been made by the national economy's working people to the restructuring program mapped out by the party? What is new in the development of the country's agro-industrial complex? SELSKAYA ZHIZN correspondent S. Zykov asked these questions of Academician L.I. Abalkin, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Economics Institute. This is what he had to say.

The results of 1988 must be examined as an integral whole with indicators for all the years of the 5-year plan period. Then we can clearly perceive the progress of restructuring. This is why I will begin by describing the specific features of the stage of restructuring in which we find ourselves now. I think that these features are determined by two factors. The first is that the preparatory stage is basically completed. An assessment has been made of what used to be, an assessment of the state reached by our society. Avenues leading out of the pre-crisis situation have been mapped out. A concept of restructuring has been elaborated which, like an outline blueprint, describes the main avenues for transformations in all main spheres: economic, political, social, and spiritual life.

The specific feature of this moment in time consists in the fact that this stage has been completed in principle, that a mass, universal transfer to the practical implementation of planned transformation is beginning. This is a most complex stage, as is in general the transition from

talk to action. All sectors, all spheres, all labor collectives, and all newly created structures must switch to the real and practical implementation of new principles. This immediately gives rise to a mass of new questions and difficulties. Everyone knows how easy it is to design projects and make plans—and how difficult it is to fulfill them.

The second factor determining the specific features of the present situation is equally important. The point is that a long enough period of time—3 and ½ years—has elapsed since the moment when the course of renewal and restructuring was proclaimed. This is the time when social expectations are compared against actual results. When this time comes, it is the time for tangible results. Of course, the period is not very long, but it is not so brief, either.

What have we managed to do in this period? Analyzing the State Committee for Statistics report, I would single out two elements that could certainly be credited to the incipient process of restructuring. First is the fact that there has been success in halting the economy's and society's further slide toward crisis. We were slowly but surely moving in that direction right until the early eighties. Even though there has been no success in achieving a radical breakthrough, there has been success in halting any further slide toward crisis, and this was achieved under a relatively complex situation.

The second successful achievement is the fact that the economy has started turning toward the implementation of social programs. It is always difficult to measure the initial stage of such a turn, but it has nevertheless occurred. Let me cite housing as an example. For several 5-year plan periods now, the volume of housing construction in the country has remained virtually unchanged. At times it has even declined. In 1985, for example, the amount of housing construction was lower than in 1980. True enough, the fluctuations were not all that large and stabilization had virtually occurred. But taking the population growth into account, there was a net reduction in the amount of housing commissioned per 1,000 inhabitants.

If we were to look at the comparison accepted in international practice—figures expressing not square meters but the number of apartments or individual homes—we would see that we built approximately 2 million apartments each year during the preceding decade. In 1988 we built 2.2 million apartments. Housing conditions improved for 11 million persons.

What is behind these figures? The maneuvering of capital investments, capacities, labor resources, and construction materials. They had to be taken away from one place and shifted to other sectors. This is structural maneuvering, this is reorientation. And this happened despite all the complexities we encountered in the process of fulfilling the 5-year plan. Here is the source of confidence: We will manage to overfulfill the 5-year plan in housing terms. This is the beginning of a good tendency which presupposes, in parallel with the shifting of material resources, totally new approaches to the implementation of the social program, including expansion of cooperative and individual construction, sale of apartments to the population, and involvement of the population's potential in implementing the housing program. The proportion of homes built by housing construction cooperatives and the population reached 23 percent of the total housing commissioned in 1988.

The effect of favorable trends is increasingly tangible. Nevertheless, there are no grounds for lighthearted optimism. The situation remains extremely strained in the economy as a whole. Our national income in 1988 fell short by R13.3 billion. Our position remains weak with regard to production of consumer goods (Group B), retail trade turnover, and social labor productivity. At the same time, plans for wage growth, increases in pay for kolkhoz members, and payments and benefits from social consumption funds are being overfulfilled. It is only natural that if we have failed to meet targets for national income, Group B, and retail trade turnover while exceeding targets for money payments, anomalies and imbalances in the consumer market will increase and the situation will deteriorate.

This is what I would like say, having pondered the statistical material. We must be able to perceive something more beyond the purely economic questions. Now we are learning political thinking. This is linked with the need to constantly bear in mind the changing situation in the country. Here we are, talking about economic reform. Full preparation for it was launched in the first half of 1987, between approximately the January and June plenums of the CPSU Central Committee. That work was done on the wave of enthusiasm that developed in 1986. It was a year of economic upsurge and revival. We sharply accelerated the dynamism of all main indicators. It was on this wave of enthusiasm, having summed up the results in January 1987, that we drew up our future plans. We lived under these impressions until June. True enough, the situation started becoming unfavorable already in early 1987. January and February were a total loss; it was a time of hard frost, but that looked like a coincidence. Later it was said that state acceptance had produced an effect. But we still lived under the impressions of a swelling upsurge. All the rest would be accomplished on this wave of enthusiasm: the transfer of enterprises to economic accountability, the introduction of market methods, and price reform. It was assumed that the upsurge would continue for another 2-3 years and we would successfully fulfill the plans.

Everything proved much more complicated. The social and psychological situation in the country is changing. And today's attitude to all reforms is not the same as it was in June 1987. This must certainly be taken into account. It is impossible to draw plans for major reforms without taking into account the changing situation and

the changing public attitudes. Attitudes can be broken down and new ones shaped, but those that exist must be taken as given quantities, as realities.

There are 2 years left until the end of the 5-year plan period. We must start getting ready for the next one, preparing ourselves for it better than we did for the present one. We do not have all that much time left. The 5-year plan must be elaborated by the fall of 1989.

What foundations should be laid for it; what approaches should be adopted? We came up against a situation whereby we have the old 5-year plan, which it was decided not to change, and the new economic mechanism, which does not fit in with the plan. If the new 5-year plan is drawn up on the old principles, it will fit in even less with the new economic mechanism. We will then lose a further 5 years. But in order to ensure that it is new we must, in the time that is left, elaborate and implement a program of extraordinary measures to improve the economy's health. This is generally known as the program to improve the national economy's financial health.

We must elaborate a very precise program, and we must have the political will to implement it in practice: a program that would limit the growth of money incomes and generally the pumping of money into the national economy on the one hand, and accelerate the increased production of goods and services on the other hand.

This is not just a matter of the population's personal incomes, even though a problem also exists there. We are advancing at a faster pace, and money incomes in 1988 grew faster than the national income growth rate. So far this trend has not been halted.

Money is also being pumped through the state budget. Let me cite two figures. Over a period of 2 years, in 1986-1987, state budget expenditures increased by R44.4 billion, while the country's national income increased only R21.2 billion during the same 2 years. A large state budget deficit developed. This was mentioned at the 11th USSR Supreme Soviet Session. The deficit has existed for many years now, but that was the first time we had mentioned it. The deficit must be sharply reduced. It is, of course, impossible to do everything in 1 year. But unless this is also done, there will be no improvement in the economy's health.

On the other hand, a program of measures is needed to satisfy the domestic market both with means of production and with consumption articles and essential goods and services. More funds from internal resources must be channeled into this market. This can be done by increasing the proportion of market stocks for individual commodities like construction materials, for example, which could add several billion to commodity turnover, and also by selling certain stocks that could sensibly be sold at reduced prices. This could produce a few billion more rubles. We also need a program for import purchases, including some resulting from structural changes. The development of real growth must be accelerated by cooperatives, with the additional goods and services they can deliver to the market. All this will enable us to improve the economy's health, and then we will be in a position to take major new steps along the planned path of economic reform.

Statistics Chief Sees 'First Signs of Recovery'

LD2601171289 Moscow TASS in English 1647 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—The Soviet Economy is showing the first signs of recovery, according to the chief of the State Statistics Committee.

Mikhail Korolev made the statement at a briefing for Soviet and foreign correspondents on Thursday as he commented on economic results in the past three years.

The principal accomplishment of ongoing economic reform so far, he said, has been development on an intensive rather than an extensive basis.

Worker productivity in 1986-88 rose by an average 4.9 percent as compared with 2.5 percent in 1980-85, while the use of power and metal per unit of output steadily declined.

Gross national product last year reached 866 billion rubles. Emphasis on meeting popular requirements was strengthened: The share of consumption in national income grew and the manufacture of consumer goods markedly increased, showing a gain of five percent in 1988.

But economic reform did not yet come into full swing and a number of planned targets were not met, Korolev said. National income, for instance, fell 13.3 billion rubles short of the target.

Food supplies remain a major problem. As many as 30 percent of some of the agricultural crops are lost due to inadequate harvesting, transportation and storage.

The population's incomes grow faster than the supply of goods and services. Many factories, including those in the defense industry, are being involved in the effort to overcome the dearth of goods and services.

Asked about the government budget deficit, Korolev noted conflicting figures mentioned in the press but said that his own preference is the figure reported at the latest session of the Soviet parliament, or 35 billion rubles.

Inflation, Consumer Market Hurt Reform in 1988

LD2601155189 Moscow TASS in English 1534 GMT 26 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 26 TASS—Last year the Soviet economic reform had emerged from theory and experimentation into actual life, research economist Yegor Gaydar notes in his article "The Economic Reform's First Year," published in the latest issue of the Magazine KOMMUNIST, organ of the CPSU Central Committee.

Noting that the overall indicators of economic development had improved in 1988, the author says that this could have warranted the conclusion that serious headway was made, if not for the consumer market's deterioration and rapidly growing prices.

Economic restructuring in the USSR, Yegor Gaydar continued, is hinged on the active utilization of market regulation mechanisms. But such a reform can be successful only if it is combined with a clear-cut and consistent anti-inflation policy. The reform programme, adopted at the CPSU Central Committee plenum in June 1987, provided for such measures.

In practice, however, the developments took a basically different turn, the author holds. In conditions when budget incomes had declined substantially (revenues from the sale of alcoholic drinks and from foreign trade had dropped), state expenditures tended to grow at an accelerated rate instead of going down. Anit-inflation measures had not been taken in the sphere of money circulation. All this had combined to bring about a situation when transition to new forms of economic management was accompanied by growing inflation.

The spiralling of inflation is traced in the article on several examples. The commodity market situation is aggravated by the fact that the 1988 volume of deliveries had made up for the 1986-1987 reduction of import only in terms of value. In kind, however, the commodity sales were lower than in 1985 as regards many items. Taking note of the initial results of restructuring in the agri-industrial complex, Yegor Gaydar holds at the same time that the growth of revenues from food sales could also be explained in large measure by higher prices.

Touching on the USSR's trade balance with the developed capitalist states, the scientist draws attention to the growth of the external debt. He writes that if this tendency was to continue, the chances to boost budget revenues by means of a new import trade structure could be missed.

Phasing-Out of Loss-Making Enterprises Urged

PM2001142589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jan 89 Second Edition p 1

[Article by PRAVDA's Economic Policy Department: "Profitable Enterprise. A Review of the Cornerstone of the Economically Accountable Economy"]

[Text] The cost-based economy has left us a burdensome legacy—loss-making enterprises. Hundreds of labor collectives spent many years living comfortably in conditions of dependence on the state. They were kept afloat at huge cost. The principle in operation was that of redistributing funds from prosperous collectives to those that had long since gone bankrupt. Consequently, people in front-ranking enterprises lost their interest in work.

Unfairness in favor of the inefficient was justified by the social importance of output and its special significance. There was, moreover, disregard of the fact that all countries produce such output, but do so profitably, with benefit to society. In terms of world practice, it is absurd to, say, produce consumer goods for yourself at a loss. But in our country, for example, the problem of the range of children's goods, which light industry finds unprofitable, has been awaiting a solution for years on end. And this is happening despite the huge market demand for these goods.

The radical reform of the economy raised the rigid condition of profitability in any economic activity. It is well known that cost recovery and self-financing are the cornerstone of economic accountability. Enterprises' funds are shaped and their long-term prospects determined according to revenues. It is understandable how important it was to learn to solve the problem of loss-making enterprises before switching to the new conditions of economic management.

Statistics show that the number of loss-making enterprises was significantly reduced by early 1989. This is largely the result of thorough work being done in a number of sectors to improve enterprises' financial health. This approach toward the problem was adopted, for example, by numerous plants under the USSR Ministry of Construction Materials Industry. A clear-cut program was elaborated there for the transition of loss-making plants to lease contracts and the cooperative form of ownership.

Practice in this sector shows that the utilization of new economic forms demands a serious reinterpretation of the functions of the ministry itself. Otherwise, the apparatus, operating within the framework of the old management system, will only retard the development of lease contract and cooperative enterprises. Equal partnership and contracts, rather than edicts and directives, ought to underlie their relations of economic accountability.

Active work is being done to establish joint enterprises with foreign firms. As a result of such cooperation, the collective, as a rule, not only gains an opportunity to remedy its economic position but also to acquire advanced technology and improve management practices. For example, Leningrad's "Proletarskaya Pobeda" Footwear Factory, which used to lose money, pooled its capital with a West German firm and set up the "Lenvest" Enterprise. Its output is highly appraised by consumers.

But the problem of losing money is often resolved in a different fashion: Without bandying sophistries, inefficient enterprises are amalgamated with successful collectives whose revenues cover any losses. Another trend is also emerging: Prices are being increased and the range of cheaper products is being eroded.

Many enterprises have remedied their financial affairs by levelling wholesale prices for some types of raw materials. Therefore, the sharp reduction in the number of bankrupt enterprises certainly does not mean that the problem has been radically resolved. If work is done in the old style, without including incentives and without being guided by consumer and market demand, losses will inevitably result even when new prices are applied.

It is necessary to create economic conditions whereby competition between producers will be revived and cooperatives and wholesale trade will replace distribution by coupons and quotas. Collectives' desire to create intersectorial structures like associations, consortiums, and joint-stock companies must be encouraged in every possible way. Practice shows that this not only stimulates the growth of revenues, but also introduces a powerful charge of democratization in the process of production management.

But the development of new management forms, and especially the cooperative form of ownership, should not be to the detriment of state enterprises. V. Mosunov, deputy secretary of the party organization of the Nizhnetagilskiy metallurgical combine rail structural shop, writes to PRAVDA that they are now operating in unequal conditions. Cooperatives offer people high wages and relative freedom of action, and therefore more and more people are leaving to join them. The outflow of cadres can be prevented only by equalizing the rights and opportunities enjoyed by competitors. This does not mean the administrative swaddling of cooperatives. It would be more advantageous to emancipate state enterprises.

The new conditions for distribution of foreign currency revenue stimulate interest in earning it. Many are now ready to try their luck on the international market. But they cannot just force their way in there or demand it as a right. A position in the international market can only be gained by offering consumers new, high quality, and inexpensive goods. In order to successfully operate along this avenue, it is necessary to study the market and world prices and develop marketing services.

It is important not just to make profits, but to ensure that the economic activity of a profitable enterprise is actually organized in the new fashion, making truly effective use of the creative force of economic accountability for the benefit of man and of society as a whole.

Official Discusses Free Economic Zones

LD2501105889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0505 GMT 25 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 Jan (TASS)—By the summer of 1989 a plan for the creation of free economic zones attached to defined parts of the USSR's territory will be drafted. Journalists were informed of this by Ivan Ivanov, deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Ivanov noted that "about fifteen regions of the country are showing interest in them in one form or another." They include Maritime Kray and Sochi, Vyborg and Odessa, Estonia, and Murmansk. However, he continued, "at times an economic romanticism—even though what one should primarily be talking about is an economic mechanism that is advantageous both to the zone itself and to the country, and to foreign investors—prevails" among the promoters.

At present there are about 600 free economic zones of various types in operation in the world. Approximately 8 percent of world trade is carried out through them. They have them in socialist countries, too, in particular in the PRC.

In light of the tasks of restructuring facing the whole Soviet economy, Ivanov stressed, "such a model only partially meets its requirements." In his opinion, the free economic zones "should be formed and should operate in the USSR's economy not as enclaves, but as an integral part of it." Evidently, they could exist not only in border areas but also in areas deep within the USSR.

The relevant republics and regions should also have an economic interest in the formation of zones on their territory. In furnishing a zone, they have the right to expect part of the profits it makes. Meanwhile, the boundaries of the zone should be determined first and foremost by economic considerations.

"The zones will be economic, not political formations, and will continue to be part of the USSR's sovereign territory," the Soviet expert stressed. Union and relevant republican legislation will be in force in them, albeit with some exceptions in the sphere of economic and social law.

Ivanov said that "a list of the special benefits for foreign investors and Soviet enterprises operating in a zone has been more or less drafted. The zones are being taken out of the USSR's customs territory. Extra guarantees for foreign capital investments and systems of insurance against commercial risks are envisioned."

The formation of the zones will be preceeded by a state feasibility study, Ivanov continued. "The future benefits of their activities must be correlated with the original state investments in the necessary infrastructure. These vary from R1,000 million for the Saymenskiy Kanal Zone to R8,000 million for a zone in the Nakhodka region. Obviously, such studies must be worked through together with potential foreign investors, for without this the zones might prove simply to be castles in Spain."

Official Answers 'Misgivings' Over Oil Exports

PM2401133989 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Jan 89 p 9

[Interview with V.A. Arutyunyan, chairman of the "Soyuznefteksport" All-Union Foreign Economic Association, by Aleksandr Istomin and Yaroslav Skvortsov under the rubric "Competent Person's Opinion": "Price of 'Cheap' Oil"; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] Our readers' letters frequently express misgivings about the squandering of the country's natural riches via exports of oil, gas, timber, and other raw materials. We asked V.A. Arutyunyan, chairman of the "Soyuzneftek-sport" All-Union Foreign Economic Association, to answer some such questions.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] Where do we sell oil today?

[Arutyunyan] Soviet oil exports came into being under conditions of acute competition on the world market and are now developing in two directions: deliveries to socialist community countries and sales to capitalist countries in return for hard currency.

Today the large state oil companies of Finland, Austria, Italy, India, and Greece, independent oil refineries and oil monopolies, and large trading firms are reliable purchasers of our oil commodities.

In recent years our volumes of oil exports have been at roughly the same level. They make up approximately 3-4 percent of the total quantity of oil sold on the markets of capitalist countries. For Soviet oil to be competitive, it must be offered at the prices set by the main oil suppliers, that is, above all, by the OPEC countries.

It must be pointed out that supply currently considerably exceeds demand for oil, so world prices are significantly depressed.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] Is it true that we now export oil in such quantities that our trading partners must sell it to third countries? How do such re-exports affect the country's economy?

[Arutyunyan] We do not give any of our partners the right to re-export Soviet oil and petroleum products. The only country to which we have been obliged to sell oil in quantities exceeding its domestic needs in order to balance trade is Finland. But even in this case, re-exports are fully controlled by us, and our country suffers no economic harm.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] By resolving the food problem by means of oil exports, might we not end up without oil but with the domestic market awash with food?

[Arutyunyan] I am no specialist in the sphere of the agro-industrial complex. But it is my profound conviction that the purchase of food abroad must be regarded as a temporary, enforced measure. It seems to me that the food problem can only be solved through a radical change of attitude toward the countryside.

Any natural resources are exhaustible. Therefore, we must primarily introduce into production energy-saving technologies and, where possible, replace consumption of liquid fuel with other kinds of energy.

[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA] What corrections have been made recently to the raw materials orientation of Soviet exports?

[Arutyunyan] The structure of our exports, as in any other country, reflects the structure of the whole economy. Therefore, it is not so much what we sell that is important as efficiency in utilizing the currency we obtain in return. I believe these funds must be channeled into developing those sectors of industry (including sectors producing consumer goods) that will create the basis for changing the commodity structure of our exports.

We also know of the existence of the opinion that it is almost a strategic mistake to export oil and petroleum products. It is hard to agree with this formulation of the question. How, then, can we explain the fact that such industrially developed countries as Britain and Norway do not suffer from a "complex" because they are major suppliers of oil to the world market?

Local Control Could Cut Lake Baykal Pollution

OW2501045489 [Editorial report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0405 GMT on 6 January and at 0410 GMT on 10 January, in its scheduled "Restructuring Spotlight" programs, carries two installments (11 minutes and 13.5 minutes) of a report by PRAVDA correspondent Igor Pestun dealing with the pollution of Lake Baykal.

The first installment begins with general shots of the lake, cutting to Yu. Kalashnikov, chief of the "Baykalrybvod" [Baykal Fishery], who says that the fish population of the lake has been greatly reduced by the construction of hydroelectric power stations and by an abnormally high concentration of pollutants, resulting in a situation where "there is no natural spawning of omul" [Baykal fish], and the fish population to be found in the lake is "supported entirely by artificial reproduction." Then, as video shows industrial enterprises belching out black smoke, a sewage outlet, and an industrial disposal area, the narrator, Igor Pestun, laments that a quarter of the existing 97 water purification plants in Buryat ASSR release sewage "into the so-called natural depressions of the terrain," and half the enterprises dumping waste products into the lake do not adequately treat them. The narrator says that the government instructions on pollution control are not followed, and cites the chemicals dumped into the lake and rivers.

As video shows a cattle farm and Severobaykalsk City, the narrator says that the agroprom enterprises inflict more serious pollution than industrial plants, and outlines the lamentable situation caused by Severobaykalsk dumping. The first installment ends with a video interview with local residents and shots of officials testing waste products dumped into the waterway by a pulp and paper combine's purification plant.

The second installment begins with an interview with local residents, who complain about the pollution of water and air, then cuts to an interview with the chief of the water purification plant of a pulp and paper combine, who says that it is impossible to reach the required level of inorganic pollutants in sewage. As video shows the purification plant, the narrator expands the list of chemical pollutants and says the sanctions against offenders are ineffective and the law on environmental protection is not adhered to. Video cuts to an interview with the inter-rayon procurator, who agrees with the inefficiency of the law.

The narrator proceeds to outline the poor work of purification plants, substandard operation of some its installations, inadequate training of personnel, and the excessive level of water usage in Soviet technology. He also cites positive experiences of Western enterprises following the application of sanctions.

As video cuts to a laboratory of the Leningrad "Bumprom VNPO" [Paper Industry All-Union Scientific Industrial Association], a pilot plant for developing a one-stage oxygen-alkaline cellulose production process, the narrator says this process precludes air pollution with sulphur compounds. Video then cuts to a lumber site situated in the upper reaches of a river flowing into Lake Baykal, a bird's-eye view of a forest earmarked for clearing, and a lumber-transfer center which, following a drop in productivity, has been reduced to a large rubbish dump. The narrator reiterates that local enterprises have not been held responsible for polluting Baykal, says that wool imported from Australia is also washed in Baykal waters, and expresses the hope that the control over enterprises will be transferred to local residents interested in protecting the environment.

In conclusion, as video cuts back to Severobaykalsk, the narrator laments that 98 percent of the used resources are wasted, and says that, at a forthcoming Irkutsk conference on Baykal, he will speak in favor of the transfer of control over Lake Baykal to local authorities.

Agricultural

Mild Weather Complicates Crop Wintering

PM2601170189 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Jan 89 p1

[Report by N. Ignatova, agrometeorologist: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] Unusually mild weather has persisted in the European part of the country. The average 10-day air temperature throughout this part of the country (with the exception of the eastern part of the northern region and the northern part of the Ural region) has been 2-9 degrees above the long-term average. The mild weather and intensive thaw have meant that the snow cover has melted and compacted. Snow has disappeared from fields west of the Tallinn-Mogilev-Zaporozhye-Nalchik line. The winter-hardiness of winter crops has been somewhat reduced. In the western regions of Latvia and Lithuania, the western and southern regions of Belorussia and the Ukraine, and also in Moldavia growth has resumed in winter grain crops and perennial grasses. The state of the crops is good or satisfactory. However, this early growth in the crops increases the likelihood that they will suffer with the possible return of colder weather in February and March. In a number of regions, stagnant water has been observed in depressions in the fields, which also does not bode well for the further wintering of the crops.

In Estonia, eastern Latvia, eastern oblasts of Belorussia, the southwestern part of the northwest region, the northern and eastern oblasts of the Ukraine, the North Caucasus, the Lower Volga region, and the southwestern part of the Central Chernozem region, the depth of the snow cover in the fields with winter crops has not been great (less than 10 centimeters), but there have been no severe frosts and the wintering of winter crops has been successful. However, an unfavorable factor for the further wintering of winter grain crops is the ice crust pressing tightly against the soil, the thickness of which has increased to 3-4 centimeters and, in some areas, to more than 7 centimeters, a situation that has persisted in the majority of these regions for 30-50 days. In these regions it is most dangerous to the crops.

In the eastern part of the northwest region, throughout most of the northern and central regions, in the northern part of the Volga-Vyatka region, the western part of the Ural region, and in some western oblasts of the Volga

region winter grain crops have been beneath a snow cover of 45-70 centimeters for 40-60 days. The soil in these areas is not frozen to any great depth (less than 30 centimeters) and in some places there is melt water. The plants are using up a lot of nutrients for respiratory purposes, and the incidence of plants dying has increased.

The persistence of unusually mild weather for 30 days in succession in the Baltic region, Belorussia, western and southern oblasts of the Ukraine, Moldavia, and Krasnodar Kray has meant that fruit crops have come out of the winter dormancy stage. Buds are swelling on early varieties of apple, cherry, black currant, and also lilac and some other types of cultivated trees. On the south coast of the Crimea, aromatic rose buds have opened.

In Siberia's agricultural regions, the weather has been considerably milder than usual. On some days, however, there have been frosts between minus 25 and minus 40 degrees, but they have not posed any danger to the winter crops because the fields have been covered with snow to a depth of mainly 25-35 centimeters. The minimum soil temperature at the tillering node depth of winter grain crops and the grass root neck has been close to the optimum. Only in the western part of Altay Kray, a number of rayons in Irkutsk Oblast, and the Transbaykal region has the temperature fallen to minus 17 degrees, but this has not posed any danger to the cereal grasses that predominate there. The wintering of crops has been successful.

In the Transcaucasian and Central Asian republics, winter grain crops have been in a state of winter dormancy beneath a covering of snow. The only exception has been a large section of territory in Azerbaijan and Turkmenia, where there has been no snow cover on the fields with winter crops. Some weak crop growth has been observed here on some days during the daylight hours.

State Agricultural Subsidy System Criticized

PM2701100989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Jan 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences V. Yefimov under the rubric "On Topics of the Day": "On Meat and Subsidies"]

[Text] It is well known that the state purchase prices for meat substantially exceed retail prices. While we get 1 kg of beef in the store for R2, the state purchase price for that kilogram is nearly R4. Here the average market price for beef in the 264 cities where the USSR State Committee for Statistics has carried out research was R5.2 in the first half of 1988.

The prime cost of meat on kolkhozes and sovkhozes is often R3, R4, R5, or even more for 1 kg of live weight—that is, about R6, R8, R10, and more for 1 kg of meat reckoned in carcass weight. I am sure that many readers did not even suspect that the expenditure of kolkhozes and sovkhozes on a kilogram of meat costing R2 was so high. But they would be even more surprised to learn that the state in reality purchases meat from the kolkhozes and sovkhozes at prices that not only fully cover these horrifying expenses but even make it possible to have a profit. These prices are formed from state purchase prices and so-called differentiated surcharges to them.

As of this year the percentage surcharges on purchase prices are determined for the farms directly in the rayons. They are often 150 or even 200 percent.

Initially subsidies were intended for the countryside's economic and social development. But kolkhozes and sovkhozes making little profit or running at a loss use subsidies to cover the bankruptcy of their own economic management. After all, as a rule the subsidy is bigger for those who work least effectively. That is the reality.

Leasing and the agricultural cooperative movement are now emphasizing still further the absurdity of the situation that has taken shape. The point is that the kolkhozes and sovkhozes are setting prices for cooperative workers and lessees which do not exceed state purchase prices. And surcharges? They go entirely to the farm. Dependence is thus encouraged on farms running at a loss or making little profit.

Worse, it is the cooperative members and lessees who pay for this by their labor. Economic managers usually have one argument: We fulfill the state order and the cooperative workers take meat to the market. You wonder how they would make ends meet without that?

I am sure that if the kolkhoz or sovkhoz where there is a cooperative were to share with it at least a part of the subsidies that the latter earns for it, then there would be scarcely anyone who would take his produce to the bazaar. I know from experience that thinking leaders do use this incentive for lessee collectives. But there are few leaders of this kind.

As we can see, the existing system of state purchases of agricultural products contradicts society's present requirements. But the conviction that we will fail to receive a substantial quantity of food without enforced purchases has taken a firm hold in people's minds. But life is breaking down old ideas. Today it is already clear that with the rational use of subsidies it is possible to achieve the point where the state order becomes truly voluntary and lessee collectives compete among themselves to take it. So the time has come to work out who the state should pay and for what.

Scientific

'Cosmos-1992' Scientific Satellite Launched

LD2701084589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0832 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 27 Jan (TASS)—Another artificial "Cosmos-1992" earth satellite was launched by a "Cosmos" carrier rocket in the USSR on Thursday. Scientific equipment for continuing space research is installed on board the satellite.

The satellite was put in orbit with the following parameters:

the initial period of revolution—100.7 minutes;

maximal distance from the earth's surface—814 km;

minimal distance—777 km;

orbit inclination—74 degrees.

The satellite also has a radio system for precise measurement of orbit elements, and a radio telemetry system for conveying to earth data about the operation of instruments and scientific equipment. The satellite's on-board equipment is functioning normally.

'Gorizont' Communications Satellite Launched

LD2701085889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0842 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow, 27 Jan (TASS)—Another "Gorizont" communications satellite was launched by a "Proton" carrier rocket in the USSR on Thursday in accordance with the program for development of communications systems and television broadcasting with the use of artificial earth satellites.

The satellite has been put in near stationary orbit, with the initial parameters as follows:

the distance from the earth's surface—36,506 km;

the period of revolution around the earth—24 hours and 33 minutes;

orbit inclination—1.3 degrees.

The satellite's on-board equipment is functioning normally. The control and measurements system is guiding the satellite. The satellite's communications and television equipment will be used in accordance with a preset program.

'Mir' Cosmonauts' Weekend Activities Outlined

LD2701133589 Moscow TASS in English 1326 GMT 27 Jan 89

[Text] Moscow January 27 TASS—Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Krikalev have been working in near-earth orbit for two months. The flight of Valeriy Polyakov, a physician, is in the 152nd day.

This week's programme of the space mission included astrophysical, geophysical, and medical experiments, as well as the unloading of the Progress-39 spacecraft. In accordance with a plan of maintenance operations onboard the orbital complex, the cosmonauts replaced hydropumps and automatic devices in one of the compartments of the temperature controlling system.

Studies within the framework of the international Roentgen programme are going on. Telescopes of the orbital observatory wil be trained today on a roentgen source—a double system in the Circinus Constellation.

In the daytime the cosmonauts will conduct a number of experiments on evaluating optical characteristics of the orbital station's portholes with the help of a holographic registrator. The flight commander will undergo a medical examination for the purpose of establishing a functional state of the blood circulation system in conditions of a space flight.

Saturday and Sunday will be days off for Volkov, Krikalev and Polyakov. The cosmonauts feel well.

The space mission of the Mir orbital complex is continuing.